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American Museum of Natural
History.

Vol. I, Part IV.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE GROS VENTRE.

BY

A. L. KROEBER.

[Title Page]

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ETHNOLOGY OF THE GROS VENTRE.

By A. L. KROEBER.

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INTRODUCTION.

The following information on the Gros Ventre was collected in the winter and early spring of 1901, at the Fort Belknap Reservation in northern Montana, as part of the Mrs. Morris K. Jesup Expedition. Very few of the statements made, unless such is obviously the case, are based on observation. In general, where nothing is said to the contrary, they are founded on statements made by the Indians. The introductory explanations that have been made in regard to the Arapaho¹ apply also to the following material. The alphabet used for rendering Gros Ventre words is the same as that employed for Arapaho. Additional sounds are ö and ü; which are open, and k', a palatal k. [104]

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gros Ventre call themselves "Haäninin." The meaning of this term is sometimes given as "lime-men" or "chalk-men," from haä'a'tyi ("lime" or "soft white stone"). This etymology is, however, doubtful. In literature they have often been known as the "Atsina." They declare this to be the Piegan name for themselves, atsöna". Historically the Gros Ventre are known to have formed an independent tribe closely associated with the Blackfeet during the nineteenth century. Their dialect is similar to the Arapaho, and certainly intelligible to the Arapaho for at least the greater part. The two dialects are, however, sufficiently differentiated to make it certain that the tribes have been more or less distinct for a longer period than two centuries. The Arapaho regard the Gros Ventre as the northernmost one of a group of five closely affiliated or related tribes of which they themselves form the largest. Three of these tribes have long been extinct as separate bodies, and only the dialects of one or two survive among a few individuals with the Arapaho. The Gros Ventre, perhaps [101]

¹ A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Parts I, II, and IV. New York, 1902, 1904, and 1907). A series of Gros Ventre myths and tales has been published in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. I, Part III. New York, 1907.

101 because they have among them no such remnants of perishing tribes, appear
648 to know nothing of this fivefold group, but they recognize their close relationship to the Arapaho. There is no very great amount of intercourse between them and the Arapaho at present, nor does there appear to have been any unusual amount of communication during the greater part of the nineteenth century; but on both sides there is a mutual recognition as of separated relatives. The Arapaho are now and apparently have been for a long time considerably the larger tribe, the Gros Ventre having always in historical times been regarded as a small body. Their present number is about 550.

131 According to Hayden, the Gros Ventre, about 1800, were south of the
648 Saskatchewan; about 1820 they united with the Arapaho for a few years, and then, following a quarrel, journeyed north, had a disastrous encounter with the Crow, and became neighbors and allies of the Blackfeet.¹ In spite of the usually close association of the Gros Ventre with the three Blackfoot tribes since that time, they became hostile to them for a time, about forty years ago, and united against them with their own long-standing enemies the Crow. In the course of this hostility the Gros Ventre sustained their heaviest reverse in war within their memory; the greater part of an unusually large war-party, including many Crow, being killed after an attack on a Piegan camp. This happened in 1867, according to Grinnell. The usual enemies of the Gros Ventre, besides the Crow, were other Siouan tribes, such as the Dakota and especially the Assiniboine. They also fought more or less with the Shoshone, and no doubt in alliance with the Blackfeet against the Salish Flathead. They were on the whole friendly with the tribes of their own stock of speech, the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, and Cree. The habitat of the Gros Ventre in recent times has been the Milk River territory, in which is situated their present reservation, which they occupy jointly with the Assiniboine.

101 The Gros Ventre have also been called Fall, Rapid, and Paunch Indians. The term "Gros Ventre" has also been applied to the Minitari, a Siouan village tribe on the Missouri; and the two tribes have been distinguished as "Gros Ventre of the Prairie" and "Gros Ventre of the Missouri."

174 Gros Ventre tradition brings the tribe from the north; but their story of
131 the division of the tribe while crossing the ice on a great river is found also
[123] among the Blackfeet and the Cheyenne, and is worthless as historical evidence. While their earliest habitat known is north of their present territory, acquaintance of them goes back little more than a century, and there is

¹ See the excellent article by H. L. Scott on The Early History and the Nation of the Arapaho, in the *American Anthropologist*, N.S., IX, 545, 1907. From this it appears that, at least from the middle of the eighteenth century on, except for about five years' association with the Arapaho (from 1818 to 1823), the habitat of the Gros Ventre was in the Blackfoot country, between the Saskatchewan and the Missouri.

nothing to show that they had long been in the Saskatchewan region. All that is certain of their previous past is their closer relationship to the Arapaho than to any other tribe; and the origin of the Arapaho is equally obscure, except that it is certain that, if they came from the north and east, it was a long time ago. Of the Gros Ventre it can only be said that, while related to the Arapaho and regarded by them as almost politically a part of themselves, they were far separated from them when first known, with them for a short time later, and again separated, and in contact and alliance with another much more distantly related Algonkin branch. Their habitat in a hundred years has been successively near the Saskatchewan, the Platte, and the Missouri. There is nothing to show that such variability of affiliation and location within the culture region of the Plains has not been characteristic of their previous history.

The Gros Ventre call the tribes near them by the following names: Arapaho, *hinan'an* (in Arapaho, *hinanaci-na*); Cheyenne, *itison*, "scars" (itiso, "a scar"; Arapaho name of the Cheyenne, *hitaciina*); Cree, *na'tsa*, "rabbits"; Ojibwa, *djinhuna'tsa*, "Lower Cree"; the three Blackfoot tribes, *waotä'nixtääts*, "black-feet" (a Blackfoot, *waotä'nixtänin*, "black-foot-man"; a Piegan, *tsä't*; the Bloods, *ka'winahaa*); Assiniboine, *na'djineihin*; Sioux, *na'wina'djinei*, "Below-Assiniboine" (in Arapaho, *na'tinci*, "a Sioux"); Crow, *houmen*, "crow-men"; Minitari, *wuxnokayän*, "—lodges"; Shoshone, *sösöyüinin*, "snake-men"; Bannock, *waotä'nixiin*, "black-men" (in Arapaho the Ute are called *waotänihici*, "black"); Flat-head Salish, *kaukaäinin*, "flathead-man"; Nezperce, *taniibäts*, "pierced-nose" (Arapaho *taniibäci* is the Caddo). Two tribes to the southwest or perhaps west, which have not been identified, are the *wasoi'hiyehits*, "grass-dwellers," who live in houses of grass or brush; and the *na'wuxanlibiina'ts*, "fish-eaters."

The Gros Ventre were divided into groups similar to those of the Blackfeet and Sioux. The names of these bands were nicknames, and in no way totemic. As there was prohibition of marriage within the band, the name "clan" is, however, applicable to them. Descent was paternal and a man belonged to his father's band; but the prohibition of marriage extended also to his mother's clan, all the members of both the father's and mother's clan being considered relatives. Each band seems to have had a recognized head or chief. During the winter the tribe broke into smaller groups, consisting of one or perhaps more clans, which followed the buffalo, and camped chiefly in the timber. There corrals were made for the horses at night to prevent their being stolen by war-parties. When summer came, the clans joined and camped together in the large camp-circle. In this, the opening of which was toward the east, the different bands had definite

361 places. Beginning at the eastern opening of the circle, and going south-
 621 ward, westward, northward, and eastward again, the order in which the
 614 clans camped was as follows:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Frozen, or plumes. | 5. Opposite (or middle) Assiniboine. |
| 2. Those-who-water-their-horses-
once-a-day. | 6. Ugly-ones, or tent-poles worn
smooth (from travel). |
| 3. Tendons. | 7. Bloods. |
| 4. Those-who-do-not-give-away,
or buffalo-humps. | 8. Fighting-alone. |

Other names of clans, whose location in the camp-circle was not ascer-
 tained, and some of which, perhaps, are second names of clans enumerated
 above, are:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Dusty-ones. | Berry-eaters. |
| Coffee. | Torn-trousers. |
| Weasel-skin head-dress. | Gray-ones, or ash-colored. |
| Ka-hutyl (the name of a chief). | Breech-cloths. |
| Poor-ones. | Night-hawks. |

Anecdotes referring to incidents that are usually ridiculous accompany
 these names. The Smooth-worn-tent-pole people were so called, because
 the ends of their tent-poles, used as travois, were worn smooth from much
 travelling. The Tendon clan was so called, because one of this band had
 said that the tendons in the neck of a buffalo were good eating. The Frozen-
 people were so called, because, when they had hungry visitors in winter,
 they gave them frozen meat. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day
 are said to have followed this practice so that their horses would gain flesh
 more quickly. The Opposite-Assiniboine, like the Assiniboine, were said
 to have had few horses, and the Fighting-alone were very warlike people.
 Those-who-do-not-give-away-without-return were considered stingy, and
 the Ugly-people were said not to have painted their faces.

FOOD AND HUNTING.

224 Like most of the other tribes of the Plains, the Gros Ventre subsisted
 [262] almost entirely on the buffalo, and their culture depended to the usual
 degree upon this animal. The following scattering notes were obtained
 regarding the hunting of buffalo and other animals.

Buffalo enclosures used to be made of trees and forked limbs set in the
 ground in a half or three-quarter circle below a vertical bank. Extending
 over the country above the bank, a long chute of two rows of stone monu-
 ments was erected, behind which sat men. Other hunters drove the buf-
 falo into the chute. Those behind the piles of stone rose up as the buffalo

passed, and so drove them forward over the bank into the enclosure. After 224 horses were secured, the buffalo were generally run down. It is said that a buffalo shot with an arrow fell to the other side, never breaking the arrow by falling upon it.

The meat of an entire buffalo would be carried on a horse. It was cut 492 in small pieces, which were tied to the ends of strips of the skin and then slung over the horse's back so as to balance. If necessary, the hunter would mount above. It is said that sometimes as many as four deer were carried on one horse.

When a buffalo was killed, half the skin was sometimes stitched or tied 482 into a sack, the meat put into it, and the bundle dragged home by a rope around the shoulders of a person. In other cases the meat would be tied into bundles and carried home on the shoulders. The buffalo were usually cut up by men. Women were said to have taken part in this work when luck was unusually good and many buffalo had been killed. After a man 251 had brought home meat, the women cut it into thin slices, which were hung on racks to dry. The dried meat was either packed in parfleches, or pounded fine and made into pemmican by mixture with berries. Meat, whether 252 fresh or dried, was usually eaten after having been boiled in water; but when one was hungry or in haste a piece would be put on a stick and turned over the fire.

Traps for foxes and other animals, even bears, were constructed by making an enclosure, over the opening of which a heavy log, sliding between four sticks to keep it in place, was supported on a single slender upright stick resting on another stick attached to the bait. Other logs might be leaned against the first one to give it additional weight.

Birds such as sage-hens, ducks, and geese, were formerly not hunted 223 extensively. The eggs, however, formed favorite food. When a camp was pitched near a lake, the young men would strip and go out into the water 226 looking for duck-eggs. Fish were not caught except by children, for amusement.

When a camp was broken, small brush tents with windows of grass were built. Fat and meat were strewed about the place and a man entered the ambush before daylight. He could look and shoot through the grass, but he could not be seen inside. Birds as large as eagles were secured in this way.

Crows and magpies were caught with sinew snares attached to a willow hoop. Meat was laid in the middle of the hoop. Walking about inside of this, the birds caught their feet in the snares and were unable to fly away.

Gophers were caught by means of a horsehair loop fastened to the end of 224 a rope and laid around a gopher-hole. A person lay down, and when the gopher raised its head he jerked the rope.

INDUSTRIES AND IMPLEMENTS.

281 When a skin was brought in, it was hung on a sort of tripod, and with a chisel-like flesher of buffalo-leg bone the meat was removed. Then the hide was stretched on the ground to dry. When dried, the hair and thin coat of skin on the same side were cut off with the familiar implement of bent elk-horn, always provided, in recent times, with a metal blade. To make rawhide, nothing more was done. To make dressed skin, liver, grease, and brains, boiled and mixed in the proper proportion, were rubbed or soaked into the skin and then removed with an ordinary scraper, now usually of sheet-iron or tin. Finally the skin was worked over with a rough stone or a bone. In preparing buffalo-skins for a tent, four steps were recognized: first, drying the skins; next, removing the hair; third, soaking them; and, last, scraping and working them over. Skins were softened by being drawn over a rope of buffalo-sinew.

281 When a woman had prepared enough buffalo-skins for a tent, she made a feast and invited other women who were skilful at making tents. The most expert of these fitted and tacked the skins together loosely, and the others sewed them fast. When a robe was to be embroidered, the woman who wanted to make it prepared food and invited other women to help her in her work. When the robe was finished, the man who was to receive it was called in, and it was given to him.

281 Caps of buffalo-skin were worn in winter. They were provided with flaps that were pulled down over the ears and held by a string fastened under the chin. Mittens of buffalo-skin were also used, tied together by a string which passed behind the neck. When the hunter was ready to shoot, he slipped his hands out of the mittens.

282 Simple flat unbraided ropes of rawhide were cut out of the skin in a long spiral. After having been cut, they were stretched between two sticks. In order to soften them, they were covered with manure, or tied to a horse that dragged them over the ground until they became pliable.

323 Pottery is declared to have been made formerly of clay mixed with crushed rock. Rawhide bags, drawn together at the top with a string, were also used for cooking by means of hot rocks. The often described Plains method of cooking in holes in the ground lined with rawhide was also followed.

372 When fire was struck with flint and steel, dry mushrooms were sometimes used as tinder.

411 Bows were most frequently made of cherry-wood, but sometimes of ash. Ash was harder and more elastic, but more brittle. Sinew backing was

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sometimes put on the bow with glue made from boiled skin from the head of a buffalo. Sometimes the bow was without sinew backing and sometimes ornamented by being covered on the back with snake-skin. Bows are said to have been held either horizontally or vertically, according to individual habit. Arrows for war and hunting are said to have been alike.

Shields were made of the thickest part of buffalo-bull skin, which was laid into a hole in the ground and made hard by being scorched with hot rocks placed upon it. It was then provided with a cover of white buckskin fringed with feathers. A man who carried a shield in war sometimes had no other weapon.

It is declared that no tobacco was raised, and that none growing wild was gathered, but that it was obtained from other tribes and from the whites. This is contrary to the practice of the equally non-agricultural Blackfoot, who planted tobacco; but it would seem to accord with the lack of any information obtained from the Arapaho as to tobacco-raising.

DECORATIVE ART.

The present day decorative art of the Gros Ventre is not nearly as strongly developed as that of the Arapaho. There is much less bead-work made, and this hardly ever equals the better work of the Arapaho either in technical or artistic excellence. Quill-embroidery is also found less frequently than among the Arapaho. How far this greater poverty and inferiority of Gros Ventre decorative art are matters of some standing in time is not certain; but it seems probable that there was a difference between the two tribes in this respect, even when they first came into contact with the whites.

It is in accord with this difference that inquiry as to the symbolic or conventional significance of the decorative designs used by the Gros Ventre has been practically without result. While the failure of the Gros Ventre to render such interpretations is due perhaps in large measure to change of mode of life under the influence of civilization, yet it seems that in this respect too there must have been a temperamental difference between the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, even in earlier times; for the Arapaho preserve at least distinguished wrecks of their symbolism, ceremonies, and religious life, while among the Gros Ventre, who are in much less intimate contact with the Americans, these things have vanished, leaving often scarcely a trace, and rarely more than a memory.

Partly on account of comparative scarcity of material, and also by reason of greater artistic poverty, the decoration of the Gros Ventre does not present as many typical characteristics as that of the Arapaho, the Blackfoot, the

531 Ute, and other tribes. It bears certain partial resemblances to Arapaho, 171 Blackfoot, and Sioux decoration, and probably has been subject to their influences; but a clear determination of its special qualities is rather difficult. A consideration of some of the more prominent features of the bead and quill embroidery of the northern and western Plains tribes — especially the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Blackfeet, Sioux, Assiniboine, Ute, and Shoshone — will, however, bring out by comparison some of the leanings of the art of the Gros Ventre.

Fig. 1 (a-n) presents some of the more conspicuous decorative design elements among the Plains Indians.

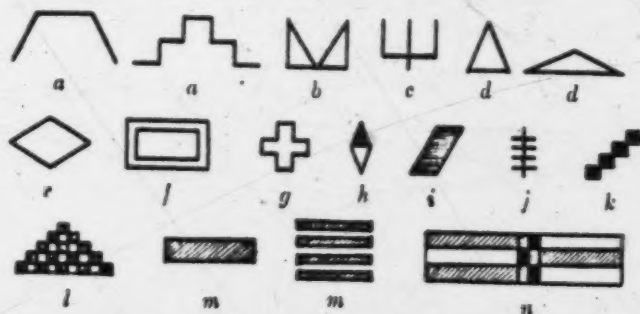


FIG. 1. Design Elements, Bead and Quill Embroidery.

Design *a* shows two schematized forms of a type of pattern that varies greatly in detail, but is always characterized by a horizontal line or bar connecting two spreading arms. The whole figure is usually worked in lines or small areas; it scarcely ever shows any heavy masses. Like the other designs considered, it is frequently only an element in patterns. It is often paired, two figures being arranged back to back, connected by a line, a diamond, acute triangles, or other design elements. This design is conspicuous in Ute bead-work. It may be called the "spreading design."

Design *b* is familiar from the Arapaho specimens that have been illustrated.¹ It may be called the "forked design." Design *c*, the "pronged design," needs no comment. The type of design *d* is the isosceles triangle. Design *e* shows the rhombus; and *f*, a square or rectangle, usually with border and centre of different colors. Element *g* is a square cross; element *h*, a well-known design called "feather" by the Sioux. Elements *i*, *j*, the slanting bar and crossed line, need no comment. Design *k*, the

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 237.

checker-diagonal, may be a single diagonal row of squares, as here shown, or several rows arranged in checker-pattern. In design *l* the fundamental idea seems to be not so much the effect of checkered color as of steps, analogous to that of design *k*, since the Blackfeet, the great exponents of this type, sometimes make this design in a solid mass, but rarely depart from the exterior step contour which distinguishes this form from the virtually straight-lined element *d*. Design *m* is a wide short stripe or long rectangle, either standing alone, or, if in contact with other stripes, decoratively separated from them by containing an internal design. Very similar in one respect is the solid stripe of one color, the unit-element of design *n*, but entirely different in being developed into a drawn-out checker-pattern by combination with analogous stripes of other colors, as in the soft bug head-patterns of the Arapaho.

Other important design elements — such as, for instance, the simple right-angled triangle, the leaf-design of the Sioux — are not considered here, because they seem at present of less consequence for comparative determinations.

The spreading pattern (*a*) is most developed by the Ute. It is also common among the Arapaho and Shoshone. The Gros Ventre and Sioux use it less; the Blackfeet apparently not at all.

The forked pattern (*b*) is possibly most used by the Arapaho, but occurs among the Ute, Shoshone, and Sioux, and apparently less frequently among the Gros Ventre. The Blackfeet use this design as little as the last.

The pronged design (*c*) is a third that the Blackfeet lack. It finds its greatest development among the Sioux and Assiniboine. It is rare or lacking among the Gros Ventre.

The triangle designs, both acute and obtuse (*d*), are found among all the tribes under consideration, but seem to be most characteristic of the Sioux and Arapaho.

The diamond (*e*) is apparently most frequent among the Arapaho, the Ute, and the Sioux. The two latter use it chiefly as a centre for more elaborate designs; the Arapaho, also as a separate design.

The square or box design (*f*) is most characteristic of the Sioux and Assiniboine, from whom the Gros Ventre and Crow have perhaps chiefly derived it. With the Arapaho the nearest approach usually is the small solid square the *hüteni* symbol.

The square cross (*g*) has a wide distribution. It is very frequent among the Sioux. The Arapaho also use it, but less often alone, and a maltese cross, or some variation, is the form more characteristic of them.

The feather design (*h*) is most typically Sioux and Assiniboine. It is not rare among the Gros Ventre. It occurs but little among the Ute, Sho-

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171

531
171 shone, and Blackfeet; and there is not a single example known from the Arapaho. It is frequent among the Crow, and occurs among the Comanche and probably other southern Plains tribes.

The slanting bar (i) is characteristic of the Ute and Shoshone, though it never appears with great frequency. It occurs also among the Arapaho as a small design in borders.

The crossed line (j) is uncommon as a distinct design unit. The Gros Ventre use it more or less.

The diagonal checker-row (k) is pre-eminently Shoshone and Blackfoot.

The triangular step or checker pattern (l), often doubled to form a rhombus, is the most distinctive design in Blackfoot ornamentation. Its use by the Gros Ventre is to be attributed to Blackfoot influence. It crops out occasionally elsewhere, as among the Arapaho, but is probably mostly a modification of the simple triangle (d), as it shows no tendency toward an interior checker-work pattern accompanying the steps on its outline.

The stripe (m), as the main design of a decorative area, is also distinctive of the Blackfeet. Several stripes are usually found parallel but separate, and are internally elaborated, as by transverse bars. A form occurs among the Gros Ventre as a border design. The general outline of this pattern is similar to that of the next design, the drawn-out checker, as its constituent stripes are three abreast, in contact, and succeed each other end to end; but there is a total dissimilarity of decorative effect from the checker-pattern, brought about by the division of the stripe elements into right-angled triangles of different colors; so that to the eye the contained triangles, rather than the including rectangles, stand out.

The lengthened checker-pattern (n) is regularly used for the top and sides of Arapaho soft bags. The Gros Ventre and other tribes employ it for the same purpose. The occurrence of this pattern is therefore determined functionally as much as tribally.

The following, accordingly, are the chief characteristics of the several tribes as regards the use of these decorative elements in bead-embroidery.

The Arapaho frequently use the forked design, the triangle, and diamond, also, in certain cases, the lengthened checker-pattern. The spreading and pronged designs, the cross, and the slanting bar, occur. The Sioux feather design, the Gros Ventre crossed-line design, and the three most characteristic Blackfoot designs, — the diagonal checker-row, the checker or step triangle, and the short or separate stripe, — are as good as wanting.

The southern tribes — such as the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and to a certain extent the eastern Apache — have little solid bead-work: they employ simple and small designs as isolated figures to give variety to the

narrow white stripes and edgings that characterize their embroidery. Among these subsidiary designs are the feather, the square, the cross, the triangle, and the slanting bar. 531
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The Blackfeet use especially the three designs mentioned,— the diagonal checker-row, the checker or step triangle, and the stripe. A few others, such as the cross and the feather, occasionally occur: still others, such as the spreading and forked designs, are lacking.

The Ute and Shoshone designs are much alike. The Ute have especially developed and varied the spreading design; but simple forms of this are not rare among the Shoshone. Both tribes frequently use the forked design. The pronged design, the triangle, the slanting bar, and occasionally the diamond, are found among both. The Shoshone sometimes employ the diagonal checker-row. Otherwise both tribes lack the typical Blackfoot designs, as well as the characteristically Sioux square, cross, and feather.

The Sioux and Assiniboine perhaps employ the square, cross, and feather no more frequently than the pronged, forked, and triangle designs, but they share the latter with other tribes, such as the Arapaho; whereas the square and feather, and perhaps the wide rectangular cross, are much less frequent among the other tribes. The Sioux, for the most part, lack the characteristic designs of the western tribes,— the diagonal checker and the stripe of the Blackfeet, the crossed line of the Gros Ventre, the spreading design of the Ute.

The Crow resemble both the Sioux and the Blackfeet. Typical designs are the feather, the square, the slanting bar, and the separate stripe.

The Gros Ventre use the forked design, the triangle, the box-square, the feather, the stripe, and the Arapaho pattern-stripe. The spreading design and the cross are not very common. Their form of the stripe has been mentioned as being usually a complex of colored right triangles. The diamond, the slanting bar, and the prongs are rare among them. The crossed line, which is practically absent among other tribes, must not be regarded as the characteristic Gros Ventre figure. It occurs only occasionally, almost always alternating with a step-triangle of the Blackfoot type.

As regards the color of the background of bead-work on which these designs are made, there are certain well-marked tribal habits. White is the most common color, and is at least frequent among every tribe. The Arapaho, however, are alone, among those here considered, in using it almost exclusively. The Cheyenne use much white, but show also a distinct leaning toward yellow. The Ute use various backgrounds, but white is the most frequent. Among the Shoshone a light grayish blue is much used besides white. The Sioux use various colors, but chiefly white, light blue, and yellow. The Crow use colored backgrounds considerably. The Blackfeet 171
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171 use much less white than any of the other tribes: their characteristic back-
 531 grounds are light red, yellow, and blue. The Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita,
 and Apache use white very predominately; but they show very few solid
 822 backgrounds of embroidery, their bead-work rarely consisting of more than
 stripes and borders. The Gros Ventre type is as indeterminate as their
 designs. It is only possible to say that besides various colors, such as red
 and light blue, white is considerably used.

171 It appears from this examination that the tribes under consideration
 531 form at least four groups as regards their bead-embroidery. The Blackfeet
 stand alone. The Sioux and Assiniboiné form a second unit. The Arapa-
 ho, Ute, and Shoshone are a third; the more southerly tribes using out-
 line embroidery, the fourth. Within their group the Arapaho show closer
 resemblance to the Ute than to the Shoshone. The Arapaho also have
 a good deal in common with the Sioux. The position of the Cheyenne is
 not certain: they certainly have partial resemblances to both Arapaho and
 Sioux, as their historical and ethnographical situation would lead one to
 infer. The Crow appear to be intermediate between the Blackfeet and the
 Sioux. The Gros Ventre show distinct approximations to all three of the
 northern groups, in the third, of course, especially to the Arapaho. Neither
 their Blackfoot nor their Sioux characteristics seem fundamental. Their
 present art shows little character of its own.

It is not probable that the groups here distinguished will stand without
 modification. With fuller knowledge regarding the Bannock, Crow, Chey-
 enne, Kiowa, Comanche, and the village and eastern and southern tribes,
 as well as those of the Columbia drainage, new and wider groups are almost
 certain to be determined. In this event the Arapaho, for instance, may
 appear more properly to belong with the Sioux than with the Shoshone; but
 their relations to the latter, and the similarities among the several tribes as
 they are here indicated, whether they prove finally to be fundamental or
 only subsidiary, are already quite clear.

The types of designs discussed occur more or less on all classes of objects
 decorated with embroidery, but are especially characteristic of larger areas
 of decoration, as on pouches, leggings, and tobacco-bags. Where there are
 special forms or limited areas, there is usually a more restricted type of orna-
 mentation. Thus the quill-wound, close-set fringe of tobacco-bags lends
 itself best to heavy rectilinear designs, and squares and crosses are the result.
 Moccasins also furnish a special decorative field, in which the decoration
 is in great measure directly dependent on the form of the object; so that the
 distribution of the designs already discussed applies to moccasins only in
 part, and their ornamentation needs some separate consideration.

Some of the chief types of moccasin ornamentation are shown in Fig. 2

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Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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(a-o). The first four forms have been discussed in connection with the description of Arapaho moccasins.¹ They may all be considered as consisting of one of two simple elements (the longitudinal dividing stripe and the border), or of combinations and developments of these two elements. Subsidiary designs usual within these stripes and borders need not be considered here, as they do not affect the ornamentation of the moccasin as a whole.

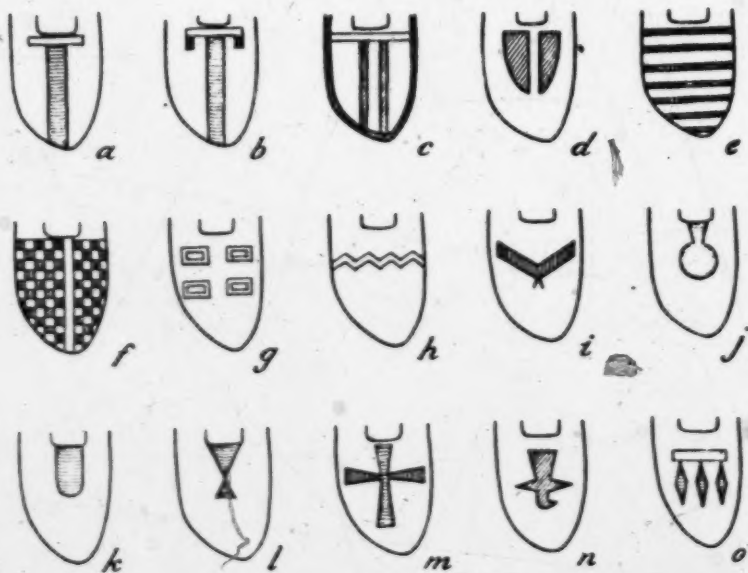


Fig. 2. Types of Designs on Moccasins.

The forms shown in e and f—the red-line and checker designs, the former usually executed in red quill-work, the latter in beads—may be regarded as forming a second class, in which the entire front of the moccasin is covered with one geometric pattern. All the remaining types can be grouped into a third class, consisting of forms having a figure in the middle of the decorable space on the front of the moccasin, this figure neither filling the entire space nor bearing any exact relation to its outline. Simple forms of some of the more frequent designs of this middle-figure class are here given, such as the four-squares (g), the transverse-zigzag (h), the crossing angle (i), the circle or head (j), the oval or U (k), the tent (l), the cross (m), the bird (n). A

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 36-46.

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fifteenth type may be regarded as comprising the moccasins in which a single figure of very variable shape, but always comparatively small, occupies the centre of the otherwise unbroken front area. The U-figure is sometimes symmetrically angular. The cross can also be regarded as a development of the stripe; but, as its shape is almost invariably maltese and not rectangular, it is perhaps usually an independently developed figure.¹

The Gros Ventre moccasins shown belong to types *d* (Fig. 3), *i* (Plate viii, Fig. 3), and *j* (Plate viii, Fig. 2). The moccasin in Plate viii, Fig. 1, does not belong clearly to any of the typical forms.



Fig. 3 (50-1824 a). Moccasin. Length, 19 cm.

The stripe-border figures constitute a majority of Arapaho moccasin designs. They occur on Cheyenne moccasins in at least a considerable number of cases. All forms of these designs are found on Sioux and Assiniboine moccasins, but all together on only one among every three or four pieces. Among the Kiowa and Comanche, many moccasins depend for ornamentation on fringes and painting as much as on bead-work: the latter in such cases consists of narrow white edging, which usually follows the stripe and border designs. Among the Ute the proportion of stripe and border design reaches a very high proportion, even the majority of solidly beaded moccasins being of this type. Of nearly twenty Ute moccasins in the Museum, all but two are of the stripe-border pattern.² The related and neighboring Shoshone, however, use this pattern rarely; and the same is true of the Gros Ventre. The

Crow use the stripe considerably, but usually with some modification or addition (such as the feather-design element), and only rarely in combination with the border. The Blackfeet lack stripe-border designs almost entirely.

¹ Sioux and Arapaho moccasins with the three types of designs have been illustrated in Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII. Examples of the stripe-border class of moccasins are shown in Plate i, 1-8; Fig. 5, b-f; Plate ii, 3; Plate iii, 1, 3, 4; Plate iv, 1; Fig. 6; Plates xxxviii, 2, 4, 6, and xxxix, 6; and Figs. 96 and 98. Moccasins of the second class are shown in Fig. 5, a; Plates iii, 2, and xxxviii, 1 (red-line pattern); Fig. 5, c; and Plate liv, 2 (checker-pattern). Moccasins with the third type of ornamentation are shown as follows: Four-squares, Plates xxxviii, 1, and liv, 2; transverse-zigzag, Plates iii, 5, and xxxviii, 8; angle-across, Plates ii, 2, xxxix, 2, and Fig. 97; round-head, Plates liv, 1, and liv, 1; cross, Plates i, 8, and xxxix, 8; bird, Plate xxxix, 4; a small figure in the centre, Plates ii, 4, 8, liv, 3, and liv, 8.

² These two show the round-head and the angle-across designs, which reach great frequency among the Shoshone and Gros Ventre.

Designs of the second class, the red-line and checker-patterns, are most frequent among the Sioux and Arapaho. There are a few Shoshone and Gros Ventre examples. The Blackfeet largely lack designs of this class. 171/531

Of the several designs of the third class, the squares and the transverse-zigzag (*g*, *h*) are not very common. They are frequent among the Sioux and Assiniboine, especially the former pattern, as is to be expected from the prevalence of the square-box design in the bead-work of these two tribes.

The angle-across design (*i*) and the round-head or circle design (*j*) are the most persistent of the designs of the third class, and the former especially has a wide distribution. The angle is found least among the Arapaho, Sioux, and Ute. Among these tribes it is usually also light or open in pattern, so as not to dominate the decoration. The Cheyenne have this pattern, and it is one of the few designs used by the Blackfeet that are untypical of them. Among both Shoshone and Gros Ventre it is common, and the Crow use it. It is interesting that two Ojibwa moccasins in the Museum also show this pattern. The round-head design occurs most frequently among tribes where the angle design is abundant, especially the Shoshone and Gros Ventre, less among the Sioux and Blackfeet. No Arapaho moccasin with this design has yet been seen. The symbolism of this figure varies. It is interpreted as a head, a spoon, feathers, or the sun.

The semi-oval or U-shaped figure (*k*) belongs more distinctly to the north and east than to the Plains. In certain regions it is the typical moccasin pattern. This figure is probably closely related to the simple stripe. It may be regarded as a wide stripe not reaching to the end of the moccasin, and rounded in front; or perhaps as an inner concentric area, slightly altered so as to be symmetrical, determined by the outline of the moccasin. In its occurrence among the Plains tribes under consideration, it does not, however, show any transitions to stripe and border patterns; and it accordingly belongs, so far as the Plains are concerned, in the class of designs bearing no specific relation to the shape of the moccasin. A few occurrences, chiefly among the Blackfeet, of angular forms having the appearance of being modifications of this U-shaped figure, can be included with it.

This design is the characteristic one of the Blackfeet, as noted by Dr. Clark Wissler.¹ It is also nearly confined to the Blackfeet within the Plains region. The Museum has a few scattering Sioux and Shoshone examples, and one from the Ojibwa; and the Field Columbian Museum exhibits a number of specimens from the Crow, though usually with the addition of the feather or pronged design element at the end of the U-figure. The U-form has not been met with among the Arapaho or the Gros Ventre, nor among

¹ Clark Wissler, *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXIII, Part III, p. 270.

the tribe in many ways nearest to the Arapaho in decorative art,— the Ute. That the Gros Ventre in their century of contact with the Blackfeet have not taken up the design is of interest, and is due, possibly, to its being at bottom of so different a decorative type that it is scarcely compatible with the established style of Gros Ventre decoration.

The tent figure (*t*) is infrequent. It has been found among the Sioux and Gros Ventre.

The cross (*m*) is most common on children's moccasins. It has so far been found on Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho moccasins. It may prove to be most typically Sioux-Cheyenne.

The bird-figured moccasin (*n*) is infrequent. There are three examples in the Museum, all Sioux or Assiniboine. This design is one of the few — really the only one of those considered, besides the red-line pattern — that is usually executed in quills. It seems to go back to an old type independent of the stylistic influences of bead-work. A quill-embroidered bird moccasin is mentioned in an Arapaho myth.¹

Type *o*, in which any small figure occupies the centre of the main decorative field on the moccasin, occurs chiefly among the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The figure may be the pronged design, the feather design, a triangle, a form of the forked design, or any other figure. A few Blackfoot moccasins can be included in this type, but as yet none from the Ute or Shoshone.

The chief tribal characteristics of moccasin ornamentation can be summarized as follows:—

The Ute use stripe-border designs almost exclusively. The few exceptions found are of the round-head and angle-across types, and are due perhaps to Shoshone influence.

The Arapaho use stripe-border designs in the majority of cases. They show no special predilection for any of the other designs. They lack the round-head, and their angle-across figures are not well marked.

The Kiowa and Comanche, and other southern tribes, confine themselves practically to stripe-border designs; but the bead-work of their moccasins is used mainly for outlining or edging, and solid beading is little practised, so that a turn is given to their style which sets them apart from the other tribes considered.

Cheyenne moccasins are more or less similar to those of the Arapaho, but probably show some leaning toward Sioux types.

The Sioux and Assiniboine moccasins show every type of figure discussed. All forms of the stripe-border class occur, but with less frequency than among the Ute and Arapaho. The round-head and angle-across

¹ See Traditions of the Arapaho (Field Columbian Publication No. 81, p. 201).

occur, but less than among other tribes, and the latter shows the light forms that characterize it among the Arapaho. On the whole, the Sioux type is apparently the most mixed and inclusive of those discussed. 171
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Among the Shoshone the designs are more frequently the round-head and angle-across than any other. They use a number of other forms, such as the red-line, checker, and transverse-zigzag. Stripe-border patterns are little developed among them.

The Crow use designs of all classes, including the stripe, the round-head, the angle-across, the red-line, and the characteristic Blackfoot U-figure, and, as in other bead-work, resemble both Blackfeet and Sioux.

The Blackfeet show by far the most specialized type, not only in the dominance of the U-shaped design, but in the absence of stripe-border patterns, which all the other tribes agree in using at least to a certain extent.¹ The chief designs that have obtained a hold among them, other than the U-figure, are the round-head and angle-across.

The Gros Ventre use a comparatively small proportion of stripe-border patterns, perhaps about in the degree of the Sioux and Shoshone. They use the Sioux-Arapaho red-line figure. Of designs of the third class, the round-head and angle-across are the most frequent.

It is evident that the distribution of these moccasin designs is primarily dependent upon geography, not upon tribal relations. The southern tribes — the Kiowa, Comanche, Ute, and Arapaho — use mainly stripe and border patterns. The northern tribes — the Shoshone, Gros Ventre, Sioux and Assiniboine, and Blackfeet — use chiefly middle-figure designs. Of these figures the most strongly developed are the round-head and angle-across. Approximation of the Shoshone and Gros Ventre proportional frequencies of these designs is to be attributed to the fact that these two tribes are situated in the same northern region of the Plains, rather than to any special cultural relations between them. The Sioux and Arapaho show certain resemblances which may be due to direct relations or to transmission by the Cheyenne. The Blackfeet alone are tribally specialized, at least if regarded as part of the Plains group of tribes. They have been somewhat influenced by the northern Plains type of design, but have not affected it. Even the inter-influence of the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre upon each other has been insignificant. The Ojibwa are not altogether out of the influence of the Plains.

Nothing was learned about the typical tribal ornamentation of Gros

¹ A series of Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan moccasins in the Museum of the Anthropological Department of the University of California, shows many more moccasins with stripe-border and middle-figure ornamentation than of the U-type, which is contrary to the ornamentation of those in the American Museum of Natural History, of which fully half, omitting the modern leaf-figured specimens, show the U-design; and contrary also to the statements of Dr. Winder and of Clark (*Indian Sign Language*, p. 60).

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Ventre robes. A child's quilled robe (Museum specimen 50-1751) agrees in general with the Arapaho style of ornamentation,¹ and is probably more or less representative of the Gros Ventre type. The style is similar to that of the quill-work on the Arapaho bag shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate xvi). Seventeen red quilled lines pass across this robe. Four spaces, two on the lines and two at the ends, are green instead of red on each line. Originally, small green-dyed plumes seem to have been attached here also; these have now almost disappeared. At the four green spaces on the lowest line, pendants are attached. These each consist of a small loop wound with green quills, and of two thongs wound with red quills. At the ends of the thongs are small cylinders of tin from out of which issues a tuft of dyed horsehair. The seventeen embroidered lines do not stretch entirely across the robe to its edge, but occupy a rectangular area including the greater part of its somewhat irregular surface. Certain Arapaho robes are described as having been embroidered with seventeen such parallel lines, to which a group of three was added at the lower edge, where pendants were attached. An Arapaho child's robe in the Museum collections is almost identical with this in style. The ornamental spaces on the red quilled lines differ somewhat, and there are eighteen instead of seventeen lines; but the general construction and appearance are strikingly similar, even to the pendant attachments. Dr. Clark Wissler's illustration² of a small Sioux robe serves to give a very close idea of the present piece. Like the Arapaho robe, this Sioux one has eighteen lines. Dr. Wissler makes the point that among the Sioux such red-line embroidered robes were distinctive of women and girls; but among the Arapaho the typical robe of men is said to have been embroidered with yellow or white lines. The Field Columbian Museum has on exhibition Cree, Crow, and Sioux children's robes ornamented with from seventeen to twenty lines and with hoof pendants at the bottom.

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The Gros Ventre have now entirely abandoned the use of embroidered tent-ornaments such as are still quite common among the Arapaho. A single dilapidated partial specimen was obtained, shown in Fig. 4. This is very similar to the Arapaho tent-ornaments.³ The full set consisted of a larger, round quill-embroidered piece of skin sewed to the back of the top of a tent and called *kai'biit'* ("round embroidery"), four similar but smaller ornaments put on the sides of the tent lower down, and pendants attached to the upper flaps or ears of the tent. The circular embroidered ornaments had buffalo-tails or strips of buffalo-fur, and quill-wound pendant thongs with hoofs and loops at their ends, hanging from the middle.

¹ Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 20, 33, 65.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, Part III, Fig. 81.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 61-63.

171 Of the pieces illustrated, the larger contains four black concentric circles
 531 interrupted by four black-bordered sectors. Quills, not plant fibres, have
 342 been used for this black embroidery. The lighter portions of the embroi-
 dery adjacent to the black circles seem to have been originally yellow, as the
 underlying protected quills are of this color, while those on the surface are

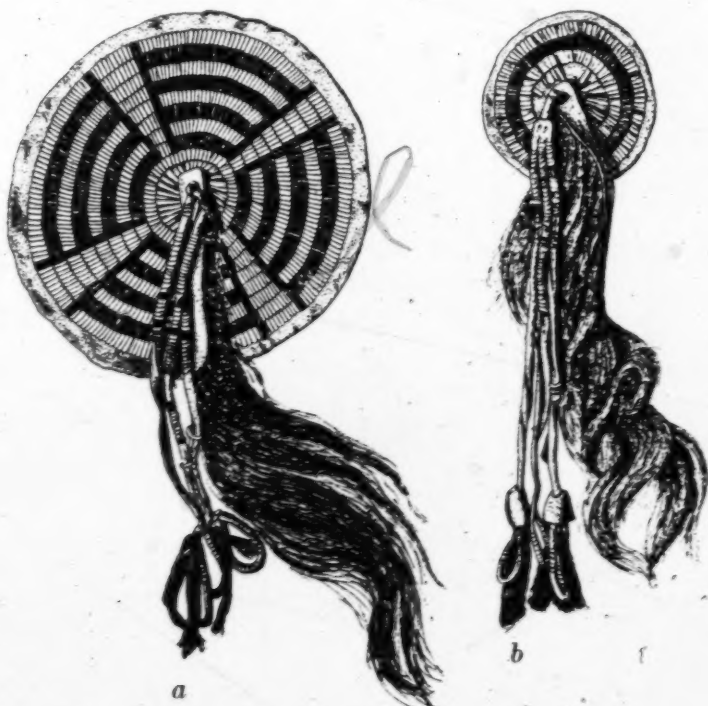


Fig. 4 (50-1820 a, b). Tent-ornaments. Diameters, 17 cm., 8 cm.

weathered white. The quills within the sectors, however, appear to have been always white. The pendants, three in number, are very much destroyed: it is evident, however, that they were wound with orange-yellow, red, white, and black quills in exactly the pattern used by the Arapaho.¹ The loops at the ends of the pendants contained red, yellow, and black quills,

¹ For description and illustration of pattern, see Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 35, 65, Figs. 12, 13.

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531 and probably white also. The pendants on the smaller ornament are identical, and still show the hoofs at their ends. It thus appears that, whereas the main ornament has only the three colors, namely, white, yellow, and black,— found also in an Arapaho ornament¹ with which it is virtually identical,— yet the peculiar line-pattern combination of red, yellow, white, and black, characteristic of the Arapaho "tribal" style of quill embroidery, also occurs in this Gros Ventre set of ornaments.

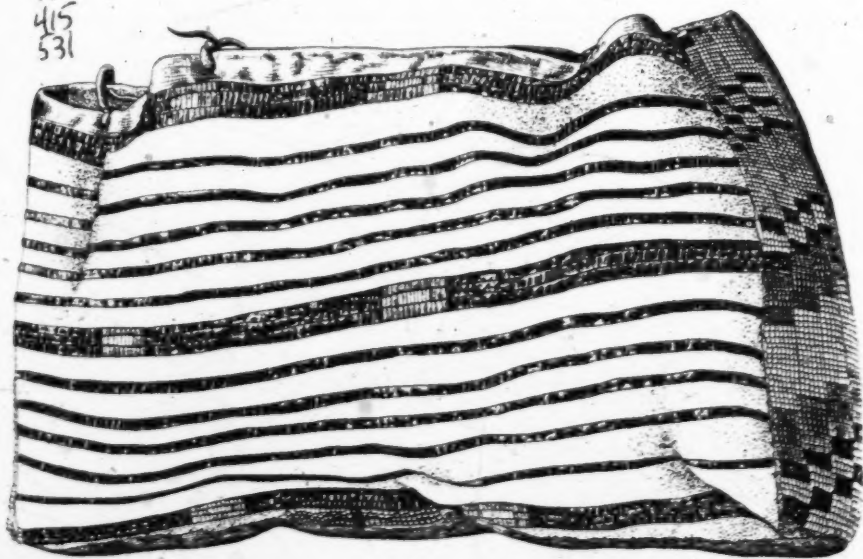


Fig. 5 (50-1738). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 21 cm.

Bags of soft skin, used chiefly for keeping and transporting clothing and small household articles, are made by the Gros Ventre very much as by the Arapaho and other Plains tribes. The ornamentation is also of the same character, consisting of red quill-embroidered lines across the front of the bag, and a pattern of bead-work (generally of alternately colored bars with cross spaces, augmented by tin and horsehair or other pendants) along the top and two side edges of the bag. This style has been illustrated for the Arapaho.² About half the Gros Ventre bags show the same ornamentation.

¹ Compare *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 60, Fig. 9, a.
² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI.

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Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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varied only in inessential details. The remainder introduce a characteristic variation, though the fundamental type of decoration is the same. Such a bag is shown in Fig. 5. The red quilled lines are present, but are in part grouped in threes, so as to form stripes of three times the width of the lines. In consequence of this, the small differently colored spaces on the lines become rectangles, which usually assume the box form shown in the figure,

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Fig. 6 (59-4290). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 35 cm.

and more characteristic of Sioux than of Arapaho ornamentation. The number of single lines between the compound stripes varies; in some specimens it is only two or three. Sometimes the box design of the stripes is represented on the lines by an end-bordered bar, as is customary on the bags with lines only, and as appears in the bag in Fig. 6. Even the small down-feathers of the line-embroidered bags may be present on the wider stripes of this variant Gros Ventre type. The bead-work along the two ends of the bag shown in Fig. 5 is very different from that on Arapaho

171 bags, recalling the typical checker and diagonal-step design of Blackfoot
415 beading. This type is, however, unusual among the Gros Ventre.

531 The fine bag shown in Fig. 6, collected by Dr. Clark Wissler, presents
unusual quill-embroidery on its front, suggestive perhaps of Sioux influence
or origin; but the bead-work on its cover and sides, and the attached tin
and horsehair ornaments, are typically Arapaho, except for the fact that
this tribe would be very unlikely to make any pattern without at least some
proportion of white. The transverse lines of quill-work on this bag might
be regarded as nothing but a further five-line development of the three-line
grouping illustrated by the last figure, with an alternating bar-pattern for
its chief ornamentation instead of the box figure, which in element is identical.
The central figure, however, is the typical Sioux spider-web pattern described
by Dr. Clark Wissler,¹ and so far without any parallel among either Arapaho
or Gros Ventre, or any approach nearer than that shown in an instance of
blanket painting.² The two parallel bars in the centre of this concave
quadrilateral figure, and the diamond-shaped feather symbols at its corners,
are also typically Siouan: only the last-named element is occasionally used
by the Gros Ventre.

237 Buffalo paunches, the mouth being drawn up by a string, like a sack,
415 were used for carrying and holding water, a paunchful being hung up in
505 the tent. If buffalo had been killed, and it was desired to transport the
meat across the Missouri, the paunches were filled with meat, blown up,
tied together at the mouth, and floated. The well-known circular skin
boats of the Missouri tribes were also used by the Gros Ventre for trans-
[50] porting clothing and property across streams.

171 Fig. 7 shows an ornamented food-bag of bladder. At the top is a strip
415 of skin covered with red quill-embroidery, with square star designs in blue
531 and white. From this strip of skin hangs a red quill-wound fringe. The
thong handle of the bag is partly quilled, and has quilled thong pendants
hanging from it. At the bottom of the bag a round piece of skin, covered
with green-and-white quartered bead-work, is sewed on.

171 The navel-amulets of the Gros Ventre, which resemble those of the
532 Arapaho in their use, are in form of a somewhat different type, as they
751 approach more nearly to an animal's shape. They usually represent
saniwa³, the "horned toad" (southern Arapaho, saniwa⁴, a "lizard"), or
sometimes a person. Their general shape is, as everywhere on the Plains,
a rhomboid on end. To this the Gros Ventre add at the upper end a small
rhomboid, forming the head of the animal represented. This augmented
shape has not been found among the Arapaho, with whom the typical form

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.

² Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 85, Fig. 138.

is a narrow simple rhomboid.¹ The Blackfeet and Sioux make figures resembling those of the Gros Ventre, but carry the realism farther. The Sioux most frequently represent an entire animal with head, legs, and tail, much like Fig. 1 in Plate viii of Vol. XVIII of the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," but broader, in the shape of a turtle.² The Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfeet use ornamented strings hanging from the corners of the rhomboid to represent limbs and tail. The Blackfeet make realistic snake amulets for their boys, and more conventional turtle or lizard-like figures, resembling those of the Gros Ventre, for their girls. Among the Assiniboine, and west of the Rockies among the Bannock and Ute, a reduced form of navel-amulets occurs, though perhaps it is not the only one used. It is usually small and flat, with the acute angles of the rhomboid cut off transversely, rendering the whole piece hexagonal rather than quadrilateral. Sometimes the entire edges are fringed. The relative distribution of this small form and of the other forms is not yet clear. A Shoshone amulet in the Museum is a pointed rhomboid resembling the Arapaho type, even to being quartered in its head-ornamentation. A Kiowa specimen in the Anthropological Museum of the University of California is a plain rhombus, of Arapaho type, except in being smaller and more nearly square. The following distribution of types is at least partly correct: realistic, Sioux, Blackfoot, occasionally Arapaho; semi-realistic, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre; conventional rhomboid, Arapaho, Kiowa, Shoshone; reduced hexagonal, Assiniboine, Ute, Bannock, and perhaps Shoshone.

On Plate ix are shown three Gros Ventre navel-amulets. Fig. 3 was said to represent a horned toad, and Fig. 2, a person. It will be seen that the mouth in the former is near the end of the head; in the latter, in the lower part of the face. Both these specimens have quilled or headed appendages at the two side corners and at the lower end. Fig. 1 has a distinct



Fig. 7 (50 1801). Ornamented Foot-bag of Bladder. Length, 20 cm.

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate viii.

² Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 242, Fig. 70.

171 tail as well as head, a cross instead of an attempt at representative ornamentation in the bead-work on the head, and unornamented yellowed thongs as
532 sole attachments. Another specimen (Museum No. 50-4278), not figured,
751 is much smaller than any of the others. It resembles Fig. 3 of Plate ix in that the bead-work on its upper surface is quartered, and that there is a distinct attempt to represent eyes in the head. The attachments are short unpainted thongs with tin cones at their ends.

Of these four pieces, Fig. 1 of Plate ix and Museum No. 50-4278 are unbanded on the lower side; Fig. 3 of Plate ix has a few curvilinear leaf-ornaments on the lower side; and Fig. 2 of Plate ix is entirely banded on both sides, showing on the reverse a simple quartering in blue and yellow without attempted representation of animal form. It thus appears that all the pieces are ornamented with bead-work in quartering, a design found also among the Arapaho, although transverse or diagonal parallel-lines, or a crossed longitudinal line, are more common among them. The specimen figured



Fig. 8. Triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

in Fig. 1 of Plate ix is quartered asymmetrically. The greater flatness of Fig. 3, same plate, is due to the contents of the annulet-pouch having been removed, no doubt for preservation.

531 The principal form of Gros Ventre decorative art other than embroidery is painting, mainly on skin and rawhide. As to the symbolism of this painting, as little was learned as of the symbolism of embroidered designs. The style of decoration itself, however, offers some points of interest when compared with the forms of decoration typical of other Plains tribes.

Outside of robe-painting, tent-painting, and semi-realistic painting of a more directly symbolic or religious nature, the principal form of this branch of Plains decorative art is the painting of parfleches and rawhide bags. In these the decorative field is invariably rectangular, usually nearly square. Within this rectangular field, which may be merely outlined or may be heavily bordered, three principal types of design elements and combinations of elements can be distinguished. These can be called respectively the "triangular," the "square-and-triangular," and the "square."

The triangular type of design is by far the most common, taking the Plains as a whole, and among some tribes is used almost exclusively. The

fundamental element of this form may be taken to be the right-angled triangle with one side considerably longer than the other. Two such triangles placed together give either a long and flat or a narrow and high isosceles triangle. Two such isosceles triangles placed base to base give a rhombus or diamond. From these elements, — the right-angled triangle, the isosceles triangle, and the diamond, — the designs of this first form are built up. Some of the most frequent combinations are shown in Fig. 8 (a-j). It is common to find combinations of an isosceles triangle flanked by two right-angled triangles (e, f), this pattern being disposed along the inside of the longer edges of the rectangular decorative field; while in the middle there will be either one or two, or sometimes three, figures, each of which is the double of those at the edges, consisting, accordingly, of a diamond flanked by two isosceles triangles (g, h). If there are half-patterns on the side, they usually agree with the full patterns in the middle. Sometimes diamonds are lacking, and two isosceles triangles form either a long rhomboid (d), or an

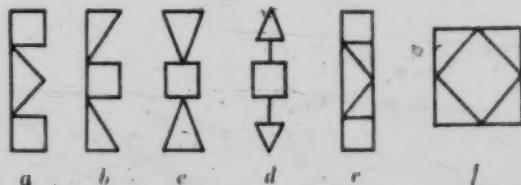


Fig. 9. Square-and-triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

hourglass-shaped figure (c), according as their bases or apices are in contact. In the same way, two rectangular triangles are combined along the edges of the decorative field (a, b). Diamonds and isosceles triangles are sometimes bisected, and occasionally the two halves are colored differently, thus emphasizing the inherent relation of these figures to right-angled triangles.

There are many subsidiary features of ornamentation accompanying those here outlined, such as borders of different colors, small triangles at the base or at the apex of isosceles triangles, reduced figures within designs, and so on. In essence, however, this first or triangular type of parfleche paintings can be considered as being built up out of right-angled triangles and combinations of right-angled triangles.

The second, or square-and-triangular, type is less common. It uses triangles much as does the first type, except that in part it replaces them by rectangles, usually squares. These squares may be placed along the edges of the decorative field, especially in the corners or in the middle. When in the middle of the field, they are of considerable size, and contain other

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figures, especially diamonds. Various characteristic forms of this type are shown in Fig. 9 (a-f). It will be seen that full forms, such as a square with two adjacent isosceles triangles directed toward it (c), are paralleled by half-forms, such as a rectangle flanked by two right-angled triangles with their apices in contact with it (b). A variation of this latter form may be regarded as an inversion, the two right-angled triangles being placed together in the middle to form an isosceles triangle, and this being flanked by two squares (a). Not infrequently this form is further developed by being combined into a continuous stripe (e); the ends of this stripe being squares, and the middle portion three or more triangles distinguished by color. When full figures consist of a square flanked by two triangles, with their bases instead of their apices directed toward it, these triangles are separated from the square, but the decorative unity of the pattern is retained by means of connecting lines (d). No perfect illustrations of this square-and-triangular type have been published in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of

Natural History," either from among Arapaho or Sioux specimens, but an approximation is shown there in Plate xviii, Fig. 2, of Vol. XVIII. Plate xix, Fig. 3, of the same volume, while containing scarcely any square elements, also bears some general resemblance to designs of this type. Nearly all the illustrations

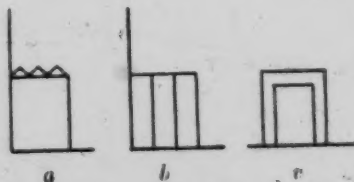


Fig. 10. Square Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

of rawhide painting in that volume belong to the first type, the few exceptions belonging to the third.

The third, or square, type of parfleche ornamentation either lacks triangular design elements altogether, or employs them as subsidiary to, or at least distinct from, the square design elements. Most frequently this type of design shows squares in the corners. It is frequently elaborated by rows of small triangles within, or adjacent to, the squares. Elementary forms are indicated in Fig. 10 (a-c). This is not a common type of design among any tribe, but appears to be found to some extent among all, or nearly all, Plains tribes. Two instances of its most developed form are shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," in Vol. XVIII, Plate xviii, Fig. 5, and Plate xix, Fig. 5; while less distinctive forms are given in Fig. 34 of the same volume. Among the Arapaho there is some tendency to interpret this type of design as the bear-foot, especially when combined with rows of pointed triangles. A similar interpretation has been obtained among the Bannock. There are, of course, easy and natural

transitions from this square type of design to the preceding, or square-and-triangular type. But there seems to be an essential difference between the two types in general character and decorative purpose; and this is made the more probable by the fact that the entirely square type is less frequent among the tribes that have developed patterns of the second, or square-and-triangular, type, than among the tribes that lack this second type. The difference between the two types is not so much in their individual design elements as in the disposition of these in the decorative field.

The tribal distribution of these three types is as follows. The first, or triangular, type is found among all tribes from which material is available. It is used, nearly to the exclusion of other types, by the Arapaho, the Sioux, and probably the Cheyenne and the Kootenay; and it predominates among all other tribes except the Shoshone. The second, or square-and-triangular, type reaches its greatest known development among the Shoshone. It is more or less employed by the Ute, and to some extent by the Blackfeet and Sahaptin. It will be seen that the Gros Ventre also employ this form. The third, or entirely square, type appears to occur somewhat sporadically among almost all tribes.

The rawhide painting of the Arapaho, besides employing design elements of the triangular type almost exclusively, is characterized by a certain lightness and openness of patterns, due to the comparatively large amount of background left white and unpainted. The patterns of right-angled and isosceles triangles and diamonds are usually narrow and long. The patterns in the middle of the field are sometimes separated from one another and from those along the edges by stripes; and in other cases full designs in the middle are split into two half-designs by such stripes. The general pattern arrangement is thus approximately one of stripes or longitudinal figures, usually from three to five in number, and consisting in element of right-angled triangles. The half-designs at the edge of the decorative field are usually directly or inversely symmetrical with those in the middle. Characteristic subsidiary features are rows of black dots, especially within white stripes, rows of small triangles at the bases of acute triangles, small black inverted single triangles at the apices of obtuse isosceles triangles, and small figures enclosed in larger design elements. These enclosed figures are usually triangles and pentagons respectively in acute and obtuse isosceles triangles. The outlines of Arapaho parfleche paintings are generally made in narrow lines of a faint black or brown. There is often some difference in pattern between stitched rawhide bags and folded parfleches; the former showing a greater tendency toward a heavy border or frame, consisting usually of a double stripe filled in with alternating triangles of two colors. The backs of bags, and occasionally of parfleches, may be striped across.

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Sioux ornamentation of rawhide is more difficult to characterize than Arapaho, although the Museum contains a good representation of specimens, a number of which have been figured.¹ The design elements of the Sioux are as preponderatingly of the first, or triangular, type as among the Arapaho. Their disposition and their relation to the decorative field are, however, less open, and it is not uncommon to find Sioux bags which are covered so completely with painting that no white background remains within the decorative field, or only so little that it becomes equivalent in function to one of the colors used. Many Sioux parfleches are heavily bordered, the wide outside design frame being as common on them as it is rare in Arapaho parfleches. Not infrequently the decorative field is divided longitudinally by a heavy stripe similar to those which frame the field. A subsidiary feature that is characteristic is the occurrence of large diamonds containing one or two longitudinal bars. Most of the typical subsidiary features of the Arapaho are either wanting or are much less common. The Arapaho parfleche design shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate xx, Fig. 5) is typically Sioux. The one in Fig. 3 of the same plate has Sioux reminiscences. On the whole, the differences between the styles of the two tribes are not very great.

There is too little Cheyenne parfleche material available to allow a characterization; but it appears in general that the painting is similar to that of the Arapaho and Sioux, as is to be expected.

With the Shoshone² a new style of rawhide painting is encountered, characterized by a predominance of designs of the second, or square-and-triangular type. There are many triangular designs and design combinations, but the square-and-triangular type is so strongly impressed on Shoshone art that there are very few parfleches that do not show at least some rectangular forms. Very common is a broad stripe consisting of triangles in its middle portion and ending off in squares (Fig. 9, c). These squares fill the corners of the decorative field. Such border-stripes may be found occurring transversely as well as longitudinally, in which case, by forming a heavy frame, they leave a rectangular area considerably smaller than the decorative field. This area, in turn, contains designs — usually a diamond or two half-diamonds, that is to say, isosceles triangles — set point to point into an hourglass figure. In other cases the central rectangular area is more prominently developed than the border-stripes. It is in such cases that types result resembling the sporadic Arapaho forms mentioned.³ Al-

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, Figs. 75, 82, 87, 94.

² The Shoshone parfleches in the Museum are from Wind River and Fort Hall Reservations.

³ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xviii, Fig. 2.

gether it may be said that there is scarcely a Shoshone parfleche which does not contain either the central rectangle, squares in the corners of the decorative field in combination with triangles, or the heavy square-containing border-stripe. The open border-figures of the Arapaho, consisting of an obtuse isosceles triangle with or without flanking right-angled triangles, are scarcely ever found. The Shoshone show a fondness, as compared with the Arapaho, for heavy black or dark-blue outlines for their figures. They lack the Arapaho rows of black dots and small black apex triangles, but show the row of small acute triangles in several instances.

Ute parfleche painting shows some approximation to that of the Shoshone in using the square-and-triangular patterns, but also has distinct resemblances to Arapaho. It is more open than Shoshone painting, and shows some tendency towards the Arapaho longitudinal arrangement. The square-and-triangular type of design is also much less common than among the Shoshone. Ute painting differs even more than does Arapaho from both Sioux and Shoshone in lacking the heavy frame to the decorative field found among these two tribes. In fact there are a number of Ute parfleches in the Museum that show a total absence of any framing: even the half-designs along the border, which among the Arapaho duplicate the full designs in the middle, are omitted. This is practically never done by the Arapaho. It may be estimated that a third of all Ute parfleches lack a border of any kind entirely, and that in another third only the two longitudinal sides of the decorative field are partially edged by isolated figures. A special form of Ute design, which needs no comment other than that it is quite evidently a form of the square-and-triangular type, is shown in Fig. 3 of Plate x. Although an isolated occurrence, it is not uncharacteristic, as is shown by certain approximations in parfleches and by similar forms in medicine-cases (Fig. 13). In its subsidiary features, Ute parfleche-painting resembles Arapaho rather surprisingly; the small apex triangle, the row of small basal triangles, and the small triangle, rectangle, or pentagon enclosed in a larger triangle, all being found.

Half a dozen parfleches and several bags obtained among the Bannock of Fort Hall Reservation give some idea of the position of this tribe in relation to the others. The second, or square-and-triangular, type of design elements is found, but is not so prominent as among the Shoshone. There is a well-marked tendency toward large diamonds occupying the greater part of the central area, or at least the entire length, of the decorative field. As among the Shoshone, the decorative area is well filled with designs; but it cannot be said to be crowded, because the figures are generally large and

53) simple. While there is considerable general resemblance to Shoshone
17) designs, elements of the specifically triangular type much outweigh those of
the square-and-triangular type.

The Blackfoot style of painting is rather distinctive. The elements are very predominately of the purely triangular type; but the decorative field as a whole is quite different from that of the Arapaho and Sioux. It is more open than the latter, and lacks the general longitudinal disposition of figures of the former. There is very frequently a light border containing triangles or diagonal bars; or the design as a whole may be regarded as consisting of a design (of acute isosceles triangles and diamonds) within a central square area around which is placed a light border containing triangles. When this frame and defined central square area are absent, there are usually no bordering figures such as characterize the Arapaho style. It is not uncommon for a figure or two figures to stand free, as it were, in the decorative field. In this respect there is a leaning toward the Ute style. The resemblances that there are to Shoshone are not so much in the occurrence of the square-and-triangular designs, for these are not numerous, as in the tendency to group smaller designs within a central square. Most of the figures employed by the Blackfoot are small relatively to the decorative field, thus differing from those of the Shoshone, Ute, and Hannock. The subsidiary decorative features characteristic of the Arapaho are wanting, except for occasional rows of small triangles. A considerable proportion of specimens, approximately one-half, show V-shaped designs on the side of the parfleche. This characteristic is also found among the Kootenay and Sahaptin, but (with the exception of sporadic cases from the Assiniboine, Sioux, Gros Ventre, and Ute) is not known to occur among other tribes. This painting on the sides of parfleches must therefore be considered distinctively western, and as more characteristic of the Pacific than of the Atlantic drainage in the Plains culture.

Two Blackfoot bags collected by Dr. Clark Wissler are shown in Plate x, Figs. 5 and 6. These are perhaps extreme cases of the typical Blackfoot tendency toward an open frame and a large central square area.

Half a dozen Kootenay parfleches and painted bags collected by the author in 1900 in northern Idaho are very uniform in style of ornamentation. They show no trace of the typical Shoshone square-and-triangular type of design, but use triangular elements exclusively. A simple but typical design is shown in Plate x, Fig. 4. It will be seen that in the general pattern there is nothing that might not well be Arapaho. Two other specimens show fundamentally the same pattern. Two others are longitudinally bisected by a wide stripe, the two resulting rectangles being internally bordered along their long sides with isosceles or right-angled triangles. Another

specimen has two hourglass-shaped figures stretched longitudinally across the field; between these is a diamond, and on each side there are two isosceles triangles. The figures in all the specimens show the convex roundness visible in the one chosen for illustration, so that actually triangles often approach more nearly to being segments of circles than polygons.

A special subsidiary characteristic of Kootenay painting is the development of rows of small black triangles set upon the outer edges of the main figures. These were said by the Kootenay to represent the trees which, in their heavily timbered and hilly country, everywhere form the limit of vision. As just mentioned, the Kootenay also frequently use side designs on their parfleches.

A valuable collection of parfleches and some bags was made for the Museum by Dr. L. Farrand among the Sahaptin. Considering that the habitat of these people is in Oregon, the general similarity of their art, as of most sides of their material culture, to that of the Plains Indians of for instance Dakota and Kansas, is very remarkable. In their rawhide painting the Sahaptin show a somewhat greater tendency to use designs of the square-and-triangular type than do the Kootenay, although such designs are neither very frequent nor very prominent among them. It is probable that the occurrence of this type of design among the Sahaptin is due to direct contact with Shoshoneans, principally of Idaho. It is interesting to observe that the wide border-stripe consisting of triangles with squares at the ends, which is so typical of the Shoshone, is found among the Sahaptin as frequently in the form of a transverse end-stripe as it is as a longitudinal border. Central squares of no great size occur several times in combination with adjacent acute isosceles triangles. Wide stripes, sometimes longitudinal and sometimes transverse, are not uncommon. When longitudinal, they occur also in the middle of the decorative field. In this case the two resulting halves of the decorative area are usually occupied mainly by diamonds or hourglass figures. There is very little tendency toward a distinct enclosing frame, as among the Sioux and Blackfeet. There are also very few cases of a repetition, along the longitudinal borders, of the designs in the middle, such as is so characteristic of the Arapaho; but there are cases even of this. Altogether there is hardly any characteristic tribal type which has not some representation among the Sahaptin. The figures are generally large. They are, however, so placed that the white background is comparatively prominent; and the close effect found, for instance, in most Bannock parfleches, where large design elements are also favorites, is wanting. The outlines of the figures are usually marked quite heavily in black or dark blue, much as among the Shoshone and Bannock. About half the parfleches have paintings on the side, similar to those of the Blackfeet and

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53 | Kootenay. The typical form of these side-paintings seems to be a row of
 17 | angles or V's with the apices directed upward; that is to say, more or less
 inward as the flattened parfleche is viewed from above. Usually each angle
 or V contains one or two smaller parallel ones. In a few cases among the
 Sahaptin, the V-shaped angles are replaced by square U-shaped figures
 or by diagonal stripes.

The characteristics of Gros Ventre rawhide painting, in spite of some
 fifteen pieces in the Museum, are difficult to define. There is certainly
 very little stylistic tendency peculiar to the tribe. A considerable propor-
 tion both of parfleches and bags resembles typical Arapaho ones, though
 on the whole with the difference that there is a less marked longitudinal
 arrangement of figures, and not quite so much openness of the decorative
 field. On the other hand, there is visible some tendency toward the use of
 the Shoshone square-and-triangular type of design, though with an inclina-
 tion rather toward a central square with acute triangles directed toward it,
 such as is found among the Ute and Blackfeet, than toward the heavy
 diamond-filled central square and the square-and-triangular stripe of the
 Shoshone.

Of specimens which have more or less close Arapaho analogues, there
 may be mentioned Fig. 5 of Plate xi¹ and specimens Museum Nos.
 50-1734,² 50-1929 and 50-1776,³ and 50-1830.⁴ A specimen (Museum
 No. 50-4327) collected by Dr. Clark Wissler may be described as approx-
 imately the equivalent of double that part of an Arapaho design which
 appears on the front of the bag.⁵

Several forms that are quite distinct from anything found among the
 Arapaho are illustrated in Plate xi. The design shown in Fig. 1 consists
 in essence of four squares, each containing two inturned obtuse triangles,
 and is without close parallel among any of the tribes from which there
 is material. Fig. 2 suggests the entirely-painted-over S Sioux decorative
 field divided longitudinally by a wide stripe which is flanked by two long
 diamonds. It will be seen, however, that transverse divisions give a marked
 square effect to this pattern as a whole. Fig. 3 is a parfleche collected by
 Dr. Clark Wissler. It is in typical Shoshone style, showing the square-
 ended wide stripes and the general square effect of the central portion of
 the decorative field. Fig. 4 was also collected by Dr. Wissler, and is in
 many respects unique. Figs. 5 and 6 are two designs of the square-and-
 triangular type, but rather of the form used by the Ute than that typical of

¹ Compare Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxii,
 Fig. 2.

² Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xx, Fig. 5.

³ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xviii, Figs. 3 and 4.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 36.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 33.

the Shoshone. Specimen Museum No. 50-1741 (not shown in the plate) 531
is similar to Fig. 6, but contains two central figures instead of one, and lacks 171
the symmetrical half-designs along the edges.

A curious design on a bag is shown in Fig. 11. This, while much specialized, seems to show Blackfoot influence.

While these Gros Ventre pieces show resemblances here and there to the work of a number of tribes, yet they seem distinctly impressed with the tendencies of none. Perhaps fundamentally Gros Ventre rawhide painting is most similar to that of the Arapaho; but there are many departures from the Arapaho type, without corresponding development of any characteristically tribal style. There are some approaches to the art of both the Sioux and the Blackfeet, the two principal large tribes to the east and west; but these resemblances are not very marked. It is not unlikely that there may have been closer correspondences with the Crow. While the Blackfeet, according to Dr. Clark Wissler,¹ called their regular parfleche paintings "Gros Ventre painting," it is quite evident that the influence suggested by this name has actually had very little to do with the origin and development of the present style of Blackfoot painting. Not only do the Blackfeet appear to be in possession of a more distinctive style of rawhide painting than the Gros Ventre, but it is generally evident that any inter-influence of the two tribes on each other in respect to rawhide ornamentation has been inconsiderable.

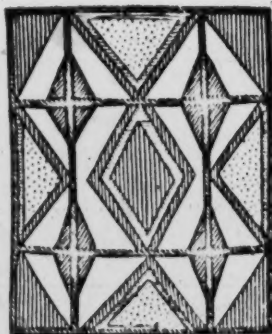


Fig. 11 (50-1805). Design on Bag.
Length, 20 cm.

The cylindrical rawhide cases used by most Plains tribes, generally for [415]
holding medicine, are painted, on the whole, in styles resembling those of
parfleches; but as the shape of the object and the portion of the decorative
field visible at one time are quite different from those of parfleches, there
are certain differences of design. At least four types of designs can be
made out on medicine-cases; and, as more material becomes available for
study, the tribal distribution of these, and especially the transition forms
between the pure types, promise to be interesting.

These four types, which have already been partly described in connection
with the Arapaho,² are shown in Fig. 12 (a-d), and may be characterized as

¹ Clark Wissler, *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 276.

² See *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 132.

53| follows. The first type (a) consists of a pattern of inverted tents.¹ The
17| second type (b) consists of a pattern of stemmed crescents and forked upright
fishtail figures.² The third type (c) has for its principal or central design a
single figure, one of the characteristic elements of the pure triangular type

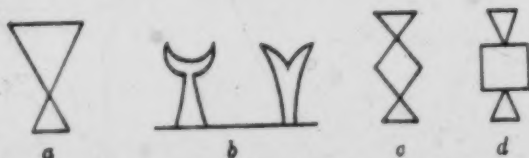


Fig. 12. Designs on Cylindrical Medicine-cases.

of parfleche designs, — a rhombus between two triangles directed toward it. As in parfleches, this figure may be flanked by symmetrical half-figures.³ The fourth type (d) is similar, but substitutes in its principal figure the square-and-triangular type for the purely triangular one. The two Ute medicine-cases shown in Fig. 13 are illustrations.



Fig. 13 (50-1255, 50-1276). Ute Medicine-case Designs. Lengths, 40 cm., 71 cm.

Among the Arapaho the tent-pattern seems most common, and next to this the crescent-and-fishtail design. One case of the third type has been found, and none of the fourth. The interesting specimen painted with bear-feet, in the Field Columbian Museum, may also be recalled.

Of Sioux medicine-cases little is known. A specimen in the Museum

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxv.

² Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxv Figs. 2 and 3.

³ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 43.

has a design the most prominent figure in which is the spider-web symbol,¹ a concave quadrilateral. Superficially this design resembles those of the fourth type. A specimen in the Museum of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California shows an asymmetrical design, which in some respects approaches each of the four fundamental types here distinguished.

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The Ute, to judge from four or five examples in the American Museum of Natural History, employ chiefly the third and fourth types; but their designs of the third or triangular type are almost always tinged with elements of the fourth, or square-and-triangular type.

The Shoshone cases, also represented by several examples, show some variation of pattern; but all are of the triangular type, and generally approach the design illustrated as most elemental. While in parfleches the Shoshone incline more than the Ute to square-and-triangular patterns, they appear to favor them less than the Ute on medicine-cases.

The Blackfoot tribes, also represented in the Museum by several specimens, show the third type, with but little variation from the illustration, quite regularly.

A single Sahaptin case in the Museum is also of this third type.

The only Gros Ventre case obtained is shown in Fig. 27, and the design is of the third type.

A Kiowa case in the Field Columbian Museum, the only specimen from this tribe known to the writer, and previously commented upon,² is intermediate between the first and second types.

The Arapaho being the southernmost of the tribes represented, it seems, especially in connection with this Kiowa case, that the first two types of medicine-case designs, the tent and the crescent-and-tail patterns, are probably characteristic of the southern Plains. Among the northern, or at least the northwestern, tribes belonging to the Plains culture, designs of the third and fourth types, more closely related to parfleche figures than are the first and second, are clearly prevalent. These are normally of the third or purely triangular form; but among the Ute a special form of the square-and-triangular type of design, found also on the parfleches of this tribe, has strongly influenced the medicine-case designs. Among the Shoshone the fundamentally square-and-triangular tendency of their parfleche-painting is without appreciable effect on their medicine-case style. The position of the Sioux in this classification, although geographically they belong to the northern tribes, remains to be more exactly determined.

¹ Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 134.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

000 The Gros Ventre system of terms of relationship has been given in a
605 former publication.¹

601 Cousins, so far as the relationship was known, were called brothers and
sisters, and they called each other's children son or daughter if the cousin
[582] was of the same sex as the speaker, or nephew or niece if the cousin was of
the opposite sex. Any known relationship was a bar to marriage. The
[587] brother of a dead man sometimes married his widow, but this was not
always the case.

583 Large amounts of property, especially horses, were given away for wives
for the honor of the act, but there was no rule or definite custom covering
the quantity of property so given. The horses might be given not only to
the father, but to the brothers, uncles, and other relatives of the girl. Some-
times, without having received any gifts and apparently without any previous
understanding, a man would give his daughter to a young man, who there-
upon would give him horses, or distribute them among his wife's other rela-
tives. Old men practised this custom in order to obtain the aid and services
of a young man in caring for their horses and in other ways, and no doubt
585 sometimes also to insure a more certain food-supply. A young man on
431 marrying received a tent with all the proper furniture, usually from his
prospective parents-in-law, but sometimes from his own parents, if they
were the wealthier.

606 Although a young married man often lived with his father-in-law, the
[591] well-known taboo custom between mother-in-law and son-in-law—which
forbade their speaking, looking at each other, or being in the same tent
—existed among the Gros Ventre. There was, however, no father-in-law
taboo. The mother-in-law taboo extended to the son-in-law's brother.

584 If a woman did not wish a man for her lover, she might send him to do a
721 certain act of bravery. If he returned successfully from war, having accom-
plished the deed, he was then accepted. This custom is said to have led
to the death of many young men.

428 At a person's death his property was inherited generally by his relatives.
His father and mother, brothers, sisters, and children would receive part.
His father and mother received the most. A man often disposed of his
property before his death. If he died suddenly, as on being killed in war,
his parents divided his property. It was not customary for a man on going
to war to divide his property among his relatives in the contingency of his
[764] death. Property particularly valued by the dead person was buried with
him.

¹ *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 9, 150.

A wife inherited practically nothing from her husband. If she had been faithful to him and had been of a good disposition, her parents-in-law might give her a certain number of horses or other property. The tent was considered the woman's possession while she lived with her husband; but on his death, even this was no longer her property. If the tent was worth keeping at all, it generally went to the dead man's sister, if she was newly married. A man, on the contrary, inherited his wife's property, though he generally gave back part of it to her relatives. 428
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[422]

A woman, on her husband's death, went back to live with her parents, or, if these were dead, with her brother, uncle, or other relative. An old woman, on the death of her husband, generally went to live with her children, most frequently with a daughter. 768

On the death of a brother, especially a beloved one, or of his father or his son, a man cut his hair and went out naked (with only a buffalo robe) on the prairie to cry from morning until late at night. Women, besides cutting their hair, and cutting themselves (especially on the leg) until they bled, would also go out to cry, naked from the waist up. A sister cut herself for a brother, but a mother mourning for a child underwent the most pain. Of course the mourning was greatest for an only child. In such a case, parents might give away everything in their tent and nearly all their horses, stripping themselves of property so thoroughly as almost to go naked. Some mourners fasted for a number of days. If, while a person was crying on the prairie, one should in joke attempt to scare him, he might kill the disturber. Mourners were the bravest people in war, caring about no danger whatever. 765
[304]

Burial was in trees, on high rocks, or in caves inaccessible to wolves and coyotes. The corpse was wrapped in a burial robe. 764

A menstruating woman was called *ninitixtj*. It is said that she did not retire to a separate lodge, or eat separately from her family; but she did not approach a sick patient, because of the evil effect she would have on his condition by her presence. Some women were said to wear a breechcloth during their menstruation. 841
[291]

In childbirth, women either lay or knelt. They grasped a stick supported in a horizontal position by two upright forked sticks set in the ground. After the umbilical cord had been severed, the end was left on the child. It was thought to fall off on the fourth day. The woman who had cut the umbilical cord received as a gift the knife she had used. A woman who washed a new-born child was given the vessel in which it was washed. The afterbirth was hung in a tree. If it were left lying to be handled, the child would be afflicted with sores. For three or four days after birth, the child was given suck by other women than its mother. This statement apparently refers chiefly to a woman's first child. 844
[846]

Names were given to children very soon after birth. Names were frequently changed and given away. A man would receive his father's name from the latter, or would take it after his death. If a child were sickly, a relative, such as a grandfather, sometimes gave him another name. A sick person sometimes also took a new name in order to recover. Renowned warriors sometimes gave away their names to young men. They might retain the same name for themselves, or take a new one. One very aged man gave away his name to a young man, telling him, "I give you my name in order that you may have as long a life as I." This was done without the occasion or accompaniment of a ceremony.

There seems to have been no prohibition against mentioning the name of the dead, nor even any reluctance on the matter. Some people, however, were ashamed to speak their own names.

Twins, called *niican*, were named, if boys, respectively *Kaen* and *Niican*. The latter name, however, was not always used, an ordinary name being given instead. Girl twins were not called by these names.

The hair was formerly worn in braids, as at present customary among the Plains tribes, but also erect over the forehead. The women wore their hair either in braids or sometimes loose. In mourning, the hair, especially of the women, was cut about halfway across the cheek.

Ear-piercing, which among the Arapaho is performed on ceremonial occasions, and is itself accompanied with ceremony and giving of presents, was said among the Gros Ventre to be unaccompanied by special ceremonial actions. A woman or any one else does the piercing.

Boys who were herding horses sometimes took off their clothes and daubed themselves with mud until they were unrecognizable. They painted their horses, and made shields of willow. Then they came to the camp, mounted or on foot, to steal meat. Approaching the camp like a war-party, they would select the best meat hanging outdoors, charge on it, take it, and run. The old men and women and children chased them with clubs, but of course without success. The boys would go back to where they were herding, and have a feast.

The Gros Ventre say that both hand-shaking and kissing are aboriginal with them.

GAMES.

A common cup-and-ball game called *tsötskuutja* ("throw in") consisted of four hollow deer or antelope leg bones, each about two inches long, attached to a string passing through them, at the end of which there was a needle eight or ten inches long. This game appears to be identical with

the Arapaho type shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 307, Fig. 154). In place of the needle, grease-wood or bone was formerly used. The bones usually had small holes bored through their sides, but these, if caught on the needle, scored only one point. The bones were usually swung with the needle pointing away from the body, in such a manner, that, when they were horizontal, a sudden motion backward of the needle drew them over its point. An expert player usually caught all, or at least several, of the bones at each throw. There were usually small loops of beads at the end of the string. Each of these, when caught on the needle, scored as much as had been agreed upon. The four bones also counted variously. In one set they are marked respectively 2, 3, 4, and 5 in parallel notches; but the owner of the game was in the habit of counting them as 6, 7, 8, and 9, the one with the highest value being farthest from the needle. It seems that other values — such as 10, 20, 30, and 40 — were sometimes given the four bones, if the players wished to play rapidly. It is said by some that, whereas a single bone or loop when caught counted as many points as had been agreed upon, if two or three bones or loops were caught, they counted only two or three points instead of the sum of the scores that each was worth individually. A considerable number of sticks were used for counters, a hundred or more according as there were two or more players. As is customary in Indian games, the counters were not divided between the players to begin with, but were in a neutral pile, from which the players took as many as their score entitled them to, until the heap was divided between them. Only after this did they begin to win from each other. Usually a man swung until he had missed three times, when his opponent was handed the game. When there were four players, they formed two sides. It is said that when the original heap of counters is exhausted, the player who is then throwing must hand over the bones to his opponent, even without having missed. The game's stakes, of course, are won when one player or one side has all the counters.

The dice of the Gros Ventre differ from those of the Arapaho. The latter have both small flat dice and long stick dice. The former may have a small form of the game; but long dice are certainly the prevailing type, as all sets seen were of this kind. The Gros Ventre dice are much flatter than the Arapaho stick dice, though of about equal length, and sometimes are made of bone. Thus they form in themselves something of a transition between the two types of Arapaho dice. The Arapaho long dice are essentially split sticks. One side is convex. The flat side may have the pith removed. The Gros Ventre dice are small boards, or similarly proportioned pieces of bone, rounded or pointed at the ends, and ornamented on one side with carving. The Arapaho use two sets of four sticks; the Gros Ventre,

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[525]

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171

- 525 four in all, in two pairs. The Gros Ventre dice are marked with incised
 171 lines on one side only. The Arapaho burn marks on the back or convex
 side in order to distinguish the two sets of dice they use together. The
 usual Gros Ventre markings consist of diagonal crosses and zigzag lines.
 525 A single die is usually specially marked in the middle. By this means the
 531 scoring or the playing is elaborated. The number of counters among the
 Gros Ventre is twelve. Sticks are used for this purpose. The methods



Fig. 14 (50-1708 a, b). Dice. Length, 24 cm.

of counting points are given somewhat differently by various individuals. For this reason the explanations obtained with each set of dice are here presented.

The set of dice one of each of whose pairs is shown in Fig. 14 has one die marked with a bit of string. There are twelve counters. The three unmarked sticks were thrown first. If they fell alike, the other one was thrown separately; but, if one of the first three fell differently from the other two, the marked stick was thrown at it in the hope of turning it over, so that all four sticks might rest alike. If this were the case, whether they were all face up or face down, four points were scored. If two were face up and two face down, two points were scored. If three faced one way and a single one was opposite, nothing was scored.



Fig. 15 (50-1812 b, d). Dice. Lengths, 20 cm., 20 1/2 cm.

The set of dice of which the two kinds are shown in Fig. 15 is also accompanied by twelve counters. One of the sticks in this set is also marked by being tied around. This set was used somewhat differently, the four sticks being thrown together. If the marked stick fell one way, and the remainder opposite, six points were scored. If all four sticks fell alike, four were scored. If two sticks fell face up and two face down, two were scored; but three sticks one way and one the other, unless this single one happened to be the marked one, counted nothing.

The four dice shown in Fig. 16 are white on the face and green on the back. One of the plainer pair of sticks is marked on the face with a cross. If this stick fell up while the other three turned face down, six points were counted. If all the dice fell one way, the score was four points; if they fell in pairs, — two green and two banded, or two plain and two green, — two points were scored; while any other combination did not count. A player

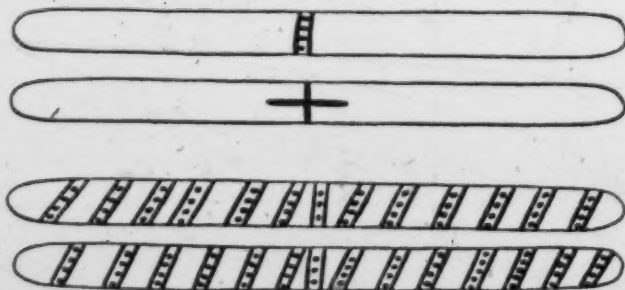
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Fig. 16 (50-1860 a, b, c, d). Set of Dice. Length, 23 cm.

that scored was entitled to another throw, but should he fail, his opponent took the dice.

Fig. 17 shows a model of a fourth set of dice, made of bone instead of wood, painted red, and accompanied by twelve counters of grease-wood, pointed at one end to be stuck in the ground. The two pairs of dice are marked respectively with transverse and zigzag incised lines. One of the latter is cut with three parallel lines on the back also. The owner of this



Fig. 17 (50-1900 a, d). Dice. Length, 21 cm.

set scored as follows. Six points were won, if all the dice fell plain side up; and six, if the odd one fell plain side up and the three others marked side up. For all four marked sides up, four points were made; for one pair marked, the other plain, two points; for other combinations there was no score.

A fifth set, Fig. 18, obtained by Dr. Clark Wissler, is of bone. The ornamentation is by small pits. One of the dice with the long single row of dots is marked on the middle of the back with several small holes to set it off from the rest.

524 A form of the widely spread guessing-game occurred among the Gros
531 Ventre. Two buttons, which were enclosed in the hand, were used. At the
beginning each player held one button. One of them guessed in which
hand the other held the button. If he guessed wrong, his opponent got
four counters; but if he guessed right, his opponent must yield the button

to him. When he held
two, his opponent guessed
in which hand each of
them was. If his oppo-
nent guessed wrong, the
player received two count-
ers; but if his opponent



Fig. 18 (30 4325, 50-4325 a). Dice. Length, 15 cm.,
16 cm.

was right, the player must hand over both buttons, and himself guess. The
game was played for twelve stick counters. These at the beginning were
in a pile belonging to neither of the players. This neutral pile was drawn
upon until exhausted, before either player gave counters to the other.
[m] This method of using counters was customary in Arapaho and Gros Ventre
games.

The buttons used in this game are different from those the Arapaho have
had in recent years. They lack sym-
bolism altogether, and are even with-
out the red-black color-dualism obvi-
ous in the Arapaho game. The elab-
orate counters, fool-sticks, pointers,
and head-dresses of the Arapaho are
also not found among the Gros
Ventre. Of one pair of buttons, one
was of brass beads, the other of green
glass beads. They were called res-
pectively "long" and "short." An-
other pair, made of bone, are illus-
trated in Fig. 19. A single button
made of bone, apparently from a tooth-
brush-handle, is shown in Fig. 20.



Fig. 19.

Fig. 19 (50 1931 a, b). Hiding-buttons.
Length, 7 cm.
Fig. 20 (50 1917). Hiding-button.
Length, 6 cm.



Fig. 20.

526 Boys shot arrows or threw sticks
527 at a netted hoop, apparently identical
with the Arapaho hoop except for nomenclature. The central mesh, called
the "crow" or "crow's heart," won the game for whoever hit it. If the
"crow's heart" was not pierced, a point was scored by the arrow nearest to
it. An arrow passing through the netting without being held in it counted
nothing. If one of the hoops rolled within reach, a player was at liberty to

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spear and catch it on his stick, or, if it was flying through the air, he was allowed to do the same. On winning, he put the wheel on top of his head, keeping it there as long as he could. When it fell down, the others all threw their wheels at him while he cowered under his robe. The wheel was usually thrown overhand, as were the sticks.

Another game was played with bow and arrows. The bow was rested in a diagonal position or held in the hand, while an arrow was several times tapped against the string and then suddenly released so that it was thrown several feet. Another player then followed, trying to cause his arrow to be thrown so as to rest on the first. If none of the players succeeded in hitting the others' arrows, all the arrows used were put aside in a pile as stakes, and the game recommenced.

Still another game played by boys consisted of five sticks or arrows. The smallest, a white stick, was thrown ahead, and the longer sticks were thrown after it. The stick that came nearest the short piece won as many points as agreed upon, but a stick resting on the short piece won the game. This game, like others of boys, was played for arrows.

Another game played by boys was to throw sticks at a forked stick stood up in the ground. A player whose stick rested in the fork won the other sticks played with. If all the players missed, they laid their sticks into the fork as stakes. They continued to do this after each throw, until a player, by dropping his stick into the fork, won all those that were there. The sticks were thrown from a mark in the ground made at a certain distance from the fork.

Boys played still another game by throwing sticks so as to strike the ground, bounce, and slide; the one throwing farthest winning the sticks of the others. These sticks were held at the very end, and thrown underhand. Like all sticks or arrows used in games, they were called "kanii." Sometimes longer darts were used, which were slid over the instep of the foot.

Boys also played by setting up three sticks or arrows in a row, and shooting at them. The one whose arrow rested nearest the middle upright stick won. In case of doubt, a small stick was used to measure the distance. This game seems to have been played indoors. Outdoors the shooting would be from a greater distance. Whoever came nearest to the mark then threw up and shot at a bunch of grass, *ext's'ta*. If he hit the bunch while



FIG. 21. (50 1859).
Gros Target. Length,
23 cm.

526 it was in the air, he won. This game was played customarily for arrows as
 857 stakes. Such a bunch of grass which was shot at is shown in Fig. 21. It
 is curved, and tapers to one end,
 and it is wound with sinew.

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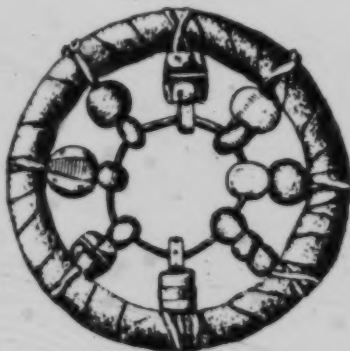


Fig. 22 (50-1954). Gaming-wheel. Diameter,
 8 cm.

given to each of these ornaments (Fig. 22). Usually there were two small banks or logs, one at each end of the course, a hoop being rolled alternately back and forth. It is said that, in order to score, it was necessary for some part of the hoop to rest on the point of the arrow, the shaft not counting. If several of the sets of beads on the hoop touched the arrowhead, the score was the sum of the points of the several ornaments.

Shinny was played with bent sticks and a ball by young men against girls. In driving the ball towards the goal, each player tried to keep it to himself as long as he could. The balls were stuffed with deer-hair. The goal at each end of the field was marked by a pair of monuments of stone. It is said that the young women often won from the young men.

Ball was played by women or girls standing in a circle and striking the ball back and forth with the open palm until one missed it, whereupon all rushed for it. Whoever secured the ball started throwing it again. Sometimes it was thrown from one to another around a circle. When one failed to catch it, the others scattered. Picking up the ball, she pursued them with it while they looked for buffalo-chips on which to stand. There they were safe. Some, how-

Adults — instead of throwing sticks, or shooting arrows at a netted hoop — rolled a small hoop in a carefully cleared and smoothed place towards a log or obstruction, while they threw at it with arrows or sticks, trying to have the hoop and the arrow in contact when at rest. The hoops were ornamented with beads or other small objects of different colors or shapes, and certain values in counters were



Fig. 23 (50-1896).
 Women's Football.
 Diameter, 14 cm.

ever, could find none to stand on, and this was what gave rise to the excitement and amusement. 526

Girls sometimes kicked a football upward, as if juggling with it. Such a football was kicked with the instep, either while free or while held by a string. Fig. 23 shows such a football about six inches in diameter. It is said to be made of the skin of an unborn buffalo-calf, and to be stuffed with fur. It is covered with an unknotted network of sinew strands.

The ordinary balls are much smaller than this one, and lack the sinew network. They are made of soft-dressed skin, and painted. In construction and appearance they are not to be distinguished from Arapaho ghost-dance balls, except that none have yet been seen with a plume on the attached thong, as is customary with the Arapaho. One, approaching the last in size, was said to have been struck with a stick, and is therefore probably a shiny-ball. It lacks a thong. The others are smaller, usually with a double thong, and are said to be stuffed with hair.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1729 is the thongless ball mentioned as used with a stick. It is painted red. One side has been lightly gone over with a dark paint, blue or black. In the middle of the red side is a small dark cross.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1728 is painted yellow. Along the seam where the two hemispheres are joined, it is red. On one side a hand is outlined in green; on the other side, in red. An Arapaho ball described¹ had a smaller hand painted on it, because, it is said, the hand threw the ball.

The ball one side of which is shown in Fig. 24 was said to have been made in connection with the ghost-dance. One side is primarily dark blue or green; the other, yellow. Each side has on it a central spot and a ring of the opposite color. The symbolism of this painting is not quite consistent, but recalls that of the Arapaho. On the dark side three concentric circles were distinguished, representing three successive existences of the world; the fourth was still to come. On the yellow side the central spot represented the entrance to the sky. It thus seems that the two sides of the ball represent heaven and earth, the future life and this.



Fig. 24 (50-1981). Ghost-Dance Ball. Diameter, 9 cm.

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part IV, Fig. 150.

526 Fig. 25 shows one side of a small ball painted yellow, on which is a rude
embroidery in red, yellow, and green quills, representing a bird. On the
532 opposite side is a red quilled cross. The bird-embroidery recalls the quill-
ornamentation of an Arapaho ghost-dance
drumstick and hand implement, both of them
with stuffed heads of painted skin; also the
painting of a crow on an Arapaho ghost-dance
bull.¹



Fig. 25 (80-1731). Embroidered and Painted Ball. Diameter, 7 cm.

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A game of throwing willow sticks on the ice, to see who could slide them farthest, was played by women. These sticks were sometimes tipped with buffalo-calves' horns. Young men, as well as women, sometimes threw horn-pointed sticks on the ice. It is said that women

used long sticks, young men short sticks.

Children slid on the ice at a place they had made smooth. A boy and then a girl would slide alternately. When the whole party had slid one way, they would return, sliding in the opposite direction.

A toy made to slide on the ice consists of a bone to which two feathered sticks are attached at a diverging angle. It is called "tataxtsitebyr." The object is to bounce or slide the implement over the ice as far as possible. This type of object is found among a number of Plains tribes.

493 Boys' sleds for coasting on hillsides were made of
526 several buffalo-ribs held together at each end by a long
thong winding in and out around the two halves of a
857 split stick. A buffalo-tail was tied behind. These sleds
were called "süw"haana." When a man presented
such a sled to another man's boy, he received presents
from the boy's parents. In early summer, when the
grass was green, toboggans of rawhide were used on the
hillsides. The front was bent up and bent over, and
the bottom soon became smooth.

224 Slings were used by boys in killing birds and small animals. The entire
411 sling was made of skin. Thongs were passed through holes near the
857



Fig. 26 (80-1784). Bull-toaster. Length, 56 cm.

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part IV, p. 393, Fig. 181.

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ends of the main portion of the sling, and then looped on themselves through a slit near one end. 957

The bull-roarer and buzzer were both well known to the Gros Ventre, but seem to be only children's toys. They were both called *nakaa"taⁿ* ("making cold," a name given also to the thermometer), probably from the widespread Indian idea that the bull-roarer breeds wind. The buzzer was made of a foot-bone of a buffalo, with a sinew string on each side, by which it was twirled, and then drawn so as to hum. The Arapaho type of buzzer is the same. The Gros Ventre bull-roarer seems to differ from the Arapaho form. Fig. 26 shows one of two very similar models, both of wood. The small, well-marked head, the long taper and point, and the numerous small notches, mark a distinct form. The sinew string is of about the length of the stick handle. 534 857 524 [821]

WAR.

Men generally went to war on foot, carrying food and moccasins on their backs. While on the trip they did not boil meat, but roasted it. Scouts, called "wolves," were sent out ahead. When these returned, running in a zigzag course, and shouting, it was a sign that they had seen something. If they had seen lodges, they barked like wolves. While they came, the women in the party stood in a row and sang, having made a pile of buffalo-chips. The "wolves" stopped a short distance away, and the leader of the party went to them. They came with him back to the pile of buffalo-chips, where he stopped, and, facing the party, recounted coups. After this, one of the scouts came before them and reported what he had seen. Upon this, all rushed at the pile of buffalo-chips, and kicked them about. If the enemy were near, they would now take off their heavier clothing, such as their robes, and dress and paint for war. 726 [522]

On returning to their camp victorious, the party approached stealthily, and made a charge upon it, often shooting; and sometimes the people in the tents jumped up out of their sleep in the early morning, thinking they had been attacked. The man who had killed an enemy, the one who had struck him first (whether dead or alive), and the one who had taken his gun, were held in about the same esteem. After the return to camp, a dance was made. Drums were beaten; and the women, who were standing in a curved row, danced in a circle toward the men, who stood in a row, and back again. The women carried the new scalps on sticks. If an enemy were killed near the home camp, his feet and hands might be cut off and carried on sticks, like the scalps. During this dance the man who first 727 [554] [554]

counted coup on the enemy filled a pipe, and held it for the rest of the party to smoke as they stood in a row. The returning war-party, if successful, always painted black, but if a member of their own party had been killed, they returned without rejoicing; unless sometimes, when the loss of the enemy had been greater than their own, and a relative of the dead was in the party, he might say, "One of the enemy pays for my relative. On account of the others, let us enjoy ourselves." Then the party would paint black, and celebrate. Wounds received by members of the war-party would not prevent celebration, unless, of course, they resulted fatally; and they were always regarded as an honor.

Some war-parties started off publicly in broad daylight, having made it known that they were going; and any one who wished joined. Sometimes, perhaps, two men would agree to go, and invited such others to accompany them as they wished. Women not infrequently went with the war-parties. If a man was killed in war, his relatives, especially his parents, mourned for him. His father might go to the tent of a renowned warrior, and cry until this man became angry and announced a day for a party to start out to obtain revenge. On the day set, the party left publicly, usually on horseback.

A man's supernatural war paraphernalia are shown in Figs. 27, 28, and 29. They were obtained from a middle-aged man who had them from his grandfather, who first dreamed of the magpie and the other animals connected with the paraphernalia, and made the objects. A cylindrical rawhide case (Fig. 27), such as is found used for holding feathers and medicine among most Plains tribes, is painted with a yellow, green, and blue design resembling parfleche designs. These colors represent the various colors of the birds that were dreamed of by the original owner, and whose feathers are kept in the case. The case is called the "house" of these objects. A wing-bone is attached to the outside of the case to make another whistle from in case of loss of the finished whistle included in the outfit. A small bag containing a necklace is kept in the case. The bag (Fig. 28, a) is ornamented with bead-work representing a frog (kuka"). This frog was part of the original owner's dream. The necklace (Fig. 28, b) has various wasôô ("medicine-roots") on it. These are said to be neither eaten nor otherwise used, except as they are worn on the necklace. The bone whistle (Fig. 28, c) alluded to is attached to a necklace of otter-skin. It is blown during the fighting to prevent injury. A magpie's skin (Fig. 28, d) and the skin of a smaller bird (Fig. 29, a) are also contained in the case. The white magpie-feathers are dyed yellow. The two skins are worn at the back of the head, and prevent the wearer being injured even in a hand-to-hand fight. A head-dress of ten magpie-feathers and of a white plume on red-painted

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thongs, tied together at the ends with a medicine-bag, and four brass bells (Fig. 29, b), is tied to the hair over the front of the head. When the warriors sing before dressing for battle, this head-dress is also used as a rattle. The medicine attached to it is chewed, and rubbed over the owner's body, as well

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Fig. 27. (50-1952 a) Medicine-cask for War Paraphernalia. Length, 40 cm.

as over his horse's, after he has painted himself. Two plumes of eagle-down (Fig. 29, c) are tied to the horse. One is tied to its fore-leg, the other to its tail. Then it will not be shot, and, if it falls, will not be hurt. In case of flight and pursuit, a little medicine that is attached to these plumes in a small

[text continues on p. 195]

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908

NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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[532]



Fig. 26 (50-1952 b, c, d, e). War Paraphernalia. Lengths, 15 cm., 9 cm., 35 cm., 40 cm.

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bag is given to the horse to prevent its becoming exhausted. A cloth to wrap the various feathers and the whistle completes the outfit.

A warrior's outfit that was obtained for the Museum (specimen Museum No. 50-1862 a-c) consists of a beaded knife-scabbard, carried because the owner has cut loose horses that were tied by a rope leading into a tent; of a man's awl-case, carried presumably for mending moccasins and for

[237]

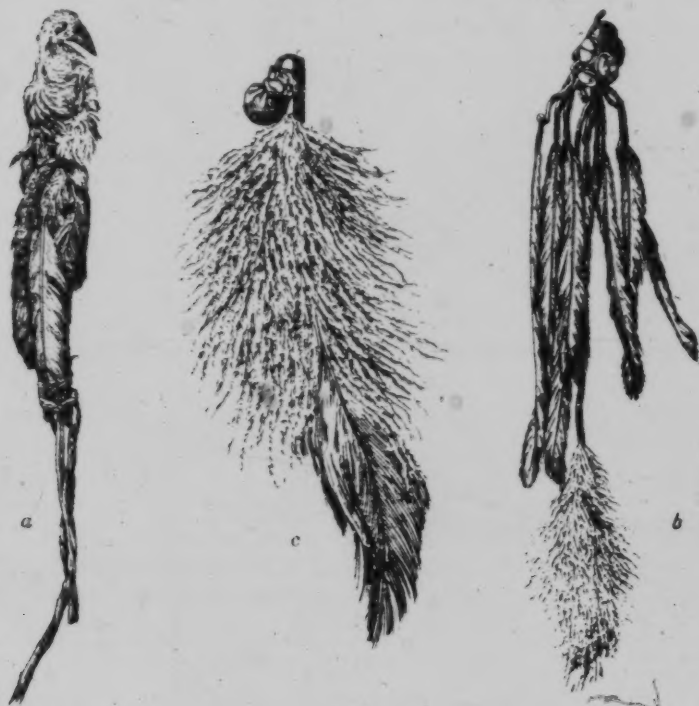


Fig. 29 (50-1952, f, g, h). War Paraphernalia. Lengths, 32 cm., 20 cm., 20 cm.

similar purposes; and of a piece of a scalp ornamented with beads, and worn attached to the shoulder of his shirt. The scabbard is ornamented with rectangular U-shaped bead-work designs similar to those in Fig 3, and representing horse-tracks.

[787]

Sometimes in dreaming, a man saw a person in battle wearing the skin of a certain animal, and fighting very successfully. He would then wear the skin of that animal. Specimen Museum No. 50-1901 is a weasel-skin

293 used in this way. The owner twice dreamed of a weasel, which told him to
726 use its skin. Thereupon he first wore a weasel-skin in dances, and later
751 carried it to war. Subsequently he lent it to his son and to other men who
778 went to war, and they always returned successfully.

[787] A man to whom a fisher had appeared in a dream or vision used a fish-skin medicine-bag, and on going to war carried this with him.

A renowned warrior, dead for some time, received his personal medicine from the bears, and was forbidden to scalp, count coup on the enemy, or take away a gun. He could only kill. He once killed two Sioux with one shot, at a place which received its name from the event.

[492] A simple riding-whip (specimen Museum No. 50-1821) has on its wooden handle four red marks, each of which is said to represent an enemy struck in the face with a whip in battle.

532 Representations, used in the modern "war-dance," of the weapons of
726 Black-Wolf, a well-known Gros Ventre warrior, part of whose experiences in war are told below, consist of a shield and spear. The shield, which is made of painted white cloth, represents the shield carried by him on an occasion when he rushed to battle with no other weapon. The shield is decorated with a blue crescent along the lower edge, representing the sun, and bordered by a wavy red line denoting lightning. The wooden spear and spear-point

[822] represent a spear with which the owner stabbed a Piegan in battle. The spear-point is painted blue and red; the blue representing iron, the red blood. Red marks on the handle of the spear represent coups.

[292] A pair of beaded and painted moccasins executed by a woman, but designed by an old man, symbolize his exploits in war. An outside rim of beading represents the enemy's camp-circle. In the middle of the camp-circle is beaded the figure of a tent belonging to a chief. To this tent was tied a horse, which the wearer of the moccasins cut loose. This feat is represented by an outline painting of a horse and halter. Three U-shaped figures, also painted, are horse-tracks, and represent the capture of horses. On the other moccasin there are again three such figures in a row, which here were said to indicate a charge on horseback on the camp; while two other such figures, facing each other, indicate a face-to-face fight.

Curtains hanging behind the bed in front of the tent-wall were sometimes painted to illustrate the owner's achievements in war.

WAR-EXPERIENCES OF INDIVIDUALS.

114 The following narratives give an entirely personal account of the war-
115 experiences of three individuals, two of them men of about sixty years of

age, and the third a woman probably a little older. They are not in any sense historical, but were obtained for the picture they give of the war-life of the Plains Indians. Both the men were renowned warriors. Bull-Robe, the older, has since died. In the case of neither was a complete account of all their achievements in war obtained; but both narratives probably refer to every war party or engagement in which they took part down to the point at which the narratives are broken off. All three narratives bear the stamp of naive truthfulness; which, in view of the importance played in the life of the Plains tribes by the telling of war-exploits and the recounting of coups, is not surprising. It must be remembered that the narrators were not asked to describe the engagements and expeditions in which they were involved, but to narrate their personal share in them. This will account for the frequency with which an insignificant personal experience is told in detail and the general result of a war-party slurred over or ignored. The story told by the woman Watches-All has reference to the great disastrous expedition against the Pieguns in 1867.

BLACK-WOLF'S NARRATIVE.

When I was a boy I heard about great deeds in war, and resolved to follow in the tracks of such men. When I was a young man I started out alone. I travelled, and reached the camp of another band of Gros Ventre on the Missouri. I ate there and went on to the Bear Paw Mountains. There I slept at the foot of Eagle Butte. I started again before sunrise and crossed the mountains, following Beaver Creek to the end of the mountains. I saw buffalo, and shot at them. Some one else was hunting these buffalo, and heard the shot. After shooting, I had left my horse tied at the foot of the butte, which I climbed in order to look over the country. Then I saw some one below me coming up the butte. A moment later he saw me. I raised my gun, but he dodged and ran off. Thinking he was one of a party, I ran off also, reached my horse, and rode into the timber. When I could hear and see no one, I rode to where there was a trading-post on Milk River. At night all the horses there ran off into the timber. In the morning an Assiniboine was about to go to get them, when I told him that I would go after them, and started with my gun and a rope. Then I saw what looked like a flock of blackbirds flying over a hill. Soon I saw they were people. At first I had seen only their heads. They were coming over the hill towards me, but on one side, in order to ambush me. Suddenly they were riding at me. At first I was as if dazzled, and it looked like a fog to me. Then I recovered my senses. I was some distance from the post. I did not run, but waited for them. Two of them with long whips were in the lead. I

159 stood there until they had gone by me. Then I ran. One of them shot
726 at me, and I turned and took a shot at the leaders. Then I ran on again
and they pursued me, and soon the entire party was all about me, all of them
shooting. Bullets struck the ground all about me, and there was no noise
but that of shooting. But I was never even scratched. Suddenly the attack-
ing party split. A white man was running from the store with a gun to
help me. I ran to him, and reached him almost exhausted. He took my
hand and we ran back to the house. The enemy, however, captured all
our horses, including those of the trader.

My father had sent word to the trader to keep me there if I should come,
so I staid there some time; but I did not return to the camp. One day I
had gone out to hobble my horse. Then the same party that had attacked
me before came again. They crept up to the house, charged on it, and
looked for me everywhere. An Indian woman who was there ran out on
the prairie and motioned to me to go away. I cut the hobbles of my horse,
jumped on it, and rode away. Looking back, I saw the party of the enemy
at the house. I dismounted and lay down on the ground to hide. The
woman came to me and told me that they were a party of Yanktons and
other Sioux, looking for me; but by this time I knew it without being told.
The Sioux looked for me all through the trader's cellar, but I was in the
timber in a sort of breastwork I had dug. This was the second time I
escaped from this party. Some of them said that they were trying to get the
Assiniboine that was there, and some the Gros Ventre, myself. After their
first failure to kill me, they had determined to come back; but I escaped them
the second time also.

We were camped north of Milk River. A party of us went to where the
agency then was on Milk River, and slept there. We were getting ready to
start, and I was sent by the leader to saddle my horse and go ahead while
they ate. A little boy was crying to go outdoors, and I opened the door for
him, when I saw a Sioux a short distance outside. I shut the door and ran
back to my companions in the next room. We went out with our guns, but
the Sioux was gone. We watched the way he went, and saw him going over
a hill westward. Then a band began to come in sight, more and more of
them. They were a large party, mostly on foot. Seven or eight were
mounted. There were only eight of us. It was a very windy day. The
agent commanded us not to shoot, threatening to shoot us if we began fight-
ing, and ordered us to wait until we were shot at. We went up on top of a
house to watch. A man put tobacco into a blanket to take to the Sioux,
and he had just got out of the door when a dog barked at the Sioux, and they
shot. Then the firing began. Those of us who were on the roof sheltered
ourselves behind chimneys. Two women were with us. As they hurried

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down the ladder below, the wind blew their dresses over their heads. When ¹⁵⁹ the man with the tobacco was shot at, he jumped back into the house, spilling ⁷²⁶ his tobacco. We were shooting at them, and the whites also were shooting. The Sioux began to retire. Then I thought I would do a brave deed. I went out into the open space before the house, wearing a conspicuous red robe and black trousers. There I jumped about while they shot at me without hitting me. Then I went back behind the house again. Soon the Gros Ventre mounted their horses and attacked the Sioux, and kept driving them before them until they drove them into the timber at the river. One of our horses was killed, and one man was creased in the leg. There were very many of them, but only eight of us.

A small Gros Ventre camp of four tents had been living with the Crow. We were on our way back to the Gros Ventre, when at night a party of Sioux stole our horses. A company of soldiers was camped near us. In the morning, when we went out for our horses, we could not find them. One of our men saw the Sioux preparing to shoot a buffalo, but he acted as if he did not see them. When the Sioux saw him, they crouched down and hid. He looked over the country with his telescope in directions other than the one they were in. Then after a while he looked at them and counted seven of them. He had miscounted, for there were eight. Then he mounted his horse and rode slowly in another direction, but when he was behind the hill he hastened back to the camp. Two of us Gros Ventre knew English, and told the soldiers of the presence of the Sioux. The soldiers started after them. A mule followed them, and when he saw the soldiers' horses, which the Sioux were keeping hobbled in a gully, he ran to join them, so that the Sioux got possession of the mule also in broad daylight. I had gone to the hill where the Gros Ventre had first seen the Sioux, and was looking for them. From there I went on to the next hill, still looking for them. Another Gros Ventre came to me and said that the soldiers wanted us to go to the next butte beyond, which was across a flat, deep gully strewn with large bowlders. A third Gros Ventre was below us and started to join us. The Sioux were behind these bowlders, and this man below us was almost among them without knowing it. Seeing them raising their heads, he shot. Then, jumping off his horse, he ran; but the Sioux shot him through both thighs. He fell, but sat up again, whereupon they shot him through the head. He was the brother of my companion and of my wife. His brother began to cry, and started to revenge him on the Sioux. Not knowing where to cross the stream before us, we jumped into it anywhere, on our horses. The stream happened not to be deep, and we crossed it safely. Then the Sioux began to shoot. My brother-in-law jumped off his horse, but I turned mine until I was out of their sight. My brother-in-law remained there fighting the

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726 Sioux, while I rode around behind them towards the butte for which they were heading. There I tied my horse and then went up to watch them. Seeing them coming, I withdrew from sight, thinking they would soon stop to fight my brother-in-law, who was still pursuing them. When I thought it probable that they had stopped, I looked out again, and saw that they had indeed made a halt, and had their backs toward me. I had my two sticks for a gun-rest all ready, and raising my gun I shot. I hit one of them in the back and he fell over. He slid down the hill on his hands until he stopped, while the others shot at me, but missed. Then the soldiers approached, coming at a walk. I thought it ridiculous to go to war in that fashion. The wounded Sioux began to shoot at them. That was what they wanted, for they did not want to open hostilities; and they all dismounted and began to shoot back at him. About the last shot of the company knocked him over. Then three of us Gros Ventre made a rush to him. The two others reached him first. One of them took his gun. Another struck him, and I was the second to strike him. He was a fine-looking Sioux, with black blanket, and leggings of black flannel, with long hair tied with otter-skin, brass beads around his neck, and a beaded bag. His gun was a Sharp's rifle. We now missed one of our own men, not knowing that he had meanwhile followed the seven remaining Sioux, and headed them off. He drove them back to the high-banked gully from which they had come, and from which now they could not well come out. Now this man motioned to us to come. The soldiers said, "Let them be. They killed one of you, and you killed one of them to even matters up." But we Gros Ventre wanted more, and persuaded the soldiers to go with us. I went close up to where the Sioux were. The soldiers began to lie down and shoot into the air. They were afraid. A sergeant came up as near the Sioux as I was, but on the other side of them. Just as he was going to shoot, a Sioux shot struck close by his head. He shook his head, cursed, and took aim again. Another shot knocked off his cap. Then he ran to where I was, and I laughed at him. Now the body of the soldiers came up, shooting as they went along, so that the Sioux could not even venture to raise their heads to look. One of the Sioux was in advance of the rest, protecting them. He had two guns. I stood up to look for this man, and he raised his gun behind a sage-bush. I jumped aside, so that he lost his aim and did not shoot. Then I got behind something else and looked for him again. This time I saw the Sioux aiming at the place where I had been last. I aimed at him; he saw me and pointed his gun at me, but I shot him through the head. Then I started to go to the other side, but, as the soldiers were now coming up in formation, I went back in order to get the two guns of the man I had killed; but another Gros Ventre had already taken them both. Thereupon I went up on the bank

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overlooking the ravine, and looking down saw a Sioux crawling. The Sioux looked back and saw my head above the bank. He lay on his belly and attempted no resistance. Perhaps he was frightened to death. I shot him, went to him, struck him, and took his gun. Then I came to where two Sioux were lying, one on top of the other. By this time all the Sioux had been killed. I had killed three of them. One Gros Ventre jumped down into the ravine to reach the Sioux, while the soldiers were still shooting, and a ball went through his foot from the root of his little toe to his big toe. Then we scalped and despoiled the Sioux. The soldiers standing by would ask us for scalps, and we would toss them bits. We got much spoil, and all of us rode back home with scalps on our bridles. We came back to our camp, and the dead Gros Ventre was buried with a military funeral by the soldiers. The soldiers cooked a great feast for us, but we, being in mourning, would not eat. The soldiers started to go back to their post, and wanted us to go with them. We set out with them, but the wounded man became so ill that we had to return. Perhaps, if we had gone on with the soldiers, we should have been treated to a good time by them. We had distinguished ourselves on that day, and I had done brave deeds. The wounded man's leg swelled to the hip, and he died.

We were camped with the Crow. Then a man told me to go with him the next morning to cut up a buffalo that he had killed. In the morning we went out while it was still dark. We passed a Crow who was herding horses, and crying in mourning. We had gone only a little distance beyond him when we heard shots, and the Crow stopped crying. Five Sioux charged on him; but he ran among the horses and escaped, while the Sioux drove off the horses. The Crow had other horses tied about their tents, and now came out. My companion and I came across two Sioux who had been left by the five who had attacked the mourner. All together there had been seven in the party. We heard these two men talking Sioux. They took us for some of their own party, and came up to us. Then they shook hands with us. We could see the flashing of the guns where the Crow were fighting the other five Sioux. Then some Crow came out to us. A Sioux who was living among the Crow also came, one of the two men we had found being his relative. He took his relative's horse by the bridle and brought him to his own tent. The other Sioux, who wore a war-bonnet, was kept by the Crow from following his companion. The Crow pursued the five other Sioux; and killed four; but one of them was mounted on a swift horse, and escaped. The Crow with us held the one Sioux's horse until a large crowd had come up. There was a Crow one of whose relatives had been killed by the Sioux, and who was determined on revenge; and he killed the Sioux who was among us. One of them took away his war-bonnet while

159 he was still alive, and another his six-shooter. Thus five of the seven had
726 been killed. The Sioux who had been brought into his relative's tent sat
with his gun leaning against his breast and a large knife in front of him.
They tried to take his gun away from him, but he would not allow it. A
great crowd was in the tent and around him. At last a chief came, and
cried out, "You have had a long time to kill this man and have not killed
him. Now go away from the tent, and let him go." Then the Sioux who
lived among the Crow took this man, and accompanied him out of the
camp for some distance on his way, after which he returned. Then we
rejoiced over our victory. I received credit for having shaken hands with
the two Sioux before a crowd had come up and surrounded us.

The Crow, Assiniboine, and Gros Ventre were all camped together.
Some men were off from the camp hunting buffalo, when a Piegan war-
party attacked them. The hunters fled to the camp, and the Piegan threw
up breastworks by digging holes in the ground in a large flat. A large
crowd of people was there fighting them, each man trying to outdo the
others so as to receive the most honor. Then I determined to be as brave
as I could, so that the two other tribes would think highly of me. When I
came to the place and saw where the Piegan were, I rode right on without
stopping my horse. The Piegan were in their holes, and I rode between
two of them, so that I was exposed to the firing of those on both sides, as
well as to the shooting of my own people. Then I jumped from my horse.
I saw a number of brave young men from our tribe come toward the holes,
jumping from side to side so as not to be hit. When they were near, the
Piegan opened fire on them, and an Assiniboine was hit, being shot through
both hips. I heard another shot, and at the very moment saw a horse fall
with its neck broken. I saw another man riding in front of the enemy,
and heard a shot; and this man fell, shot through both his forearms. He
was a chief. Another man was shot in the belly; the ball went in and came
out just under the skin. Then we all made a charge on the holes from all
sides. There were three holes altogether. In two of them were two men
each; the other contained a great many. I charged against one of the holes,
and found two men lying in this with their heads against the breastwork.
I stabbed one of them in the neck with my spear. The spear struck bone, and
stuck fast. I tried to pull it out, and the man backed away from the spear
across the hole to the other side, when the spear came out. Then the other
Piegan jumped out of the hole with a long double-edged knife, but without
a gun. Every one ran off, except myself. I backed away a little. Then
the Piegan called to me to come on, and ran out to me. I advanced, holding
my spear out. The Piegan ran straight on to this, piercing his breast about
at the base of the sternum. Then he backed off, pulling the knife out of

my hand. For a while it stuck in him, the end bobbing up and down; then it dropped on the ground and I picked it up again. The Piegan fled. I did not pursue him, but ran to the hole where he and his companion had been. The Piegan I had stabbed first was lying on his face with a gun in his arms. Dashing over him at a run, I caught the gun-barrel, and, without stopping, ran on, turned, and ran back. This was one of my earliest deeds of distinction in war, and was highly thought of. Such a deed was what I had been wishing to do ever since I had been old enough to go to war, and now I had done it. When a dance was held afterwards, the people could be heard calling out my name. All the Piegan, twenty in number, were killed. Later on, three more were found and also killed; so that the whole party was exterminated, only one of them escaping. At the time we did not know it; but he reached the Piegan, and informed them of the fate of the party, so that they came against us to obtain revenge. Our tribes were moving and had just made camp. An Assiniboine left it to hunt buffalo. The Piegan war-party came across him, killed him, and secured his horses. No one knew that the Assiniboine had been killed, and no pursuit of the attackers was undertaken. The Piegan then went on a high ridge and threw reflections from a mirror on the camp, as a challenge. When this was seen, everybody mounted and dashed off towards the enemy in haste. I took nothing with me but my shield. The Piegan were found on the other side of a ravine. A Piegan was killed; but the others escaped with his body. All that we secured was his rifle, which he dropped when he was shot. For a long distance we pursued the Piegan; but finally they swung us back, and drove us just as hard as the horses could run. At last we stopped running, and fought. One Gros Ventre was killed, and another was shot through the hand, the bullet striking the sternum and being stopped. That was all that happened in this fight. It was considered something of a distinction to carry a shield in battle; a man with a shield being more shot at than others, because he was more conspicuous, and because shields were always desired for capture. I also rode a pinto horse, which made me more conspicuous.

Once we were challenged by the Sioux. The Sioux sent word by the Assiniboine that they would come and exterminate our camp. We were only one band, a small part of the tribe. We made our camp near a black butte, above where Havre now is. The Sioux camped at Three Buttes on this reservation. At this time we already had many rifles. When we received the challenge, we went to the trading-post and bought large quantities of ammunition and new guns, until we were fully prepared. A few nights later the enemy came. It was dark, so that we knew nothing of their approach. A young man was off from the camp crying. It was early in the

159 morning, and still dark. The Sioux tried to approach him, but he saw them
726 and ran back. The camp was within the semicircle of a high bluff; but
the bluff was not very steep. On top of the bluff we had been making
intrenchments. It was now about daybreak. My family had already
started a fire. I was lying on my side, when I heard a strange noise, like
wind but different. It was the enemy coming, and the sound of their
approach travelled through the air from above and into the lodges. An old
woman came into our tent to get fire. She took coals and went out. She
had gone only a few steps when I heard a shot. I jumped up, and there
was a war-yell. I started out with my gun, but my father told me to lie
down: so I lay until the shooting was over. On all sides I could hear
horses falling; some being shot, and some trying to escape and being thrown
when they reached the end of their ropes. When the first volley of shooting
was over, I jumped up, and ran up the bluff to the edge and looked over.
A solid mass of Sioux was there. A solid flame extended all along the
edge of the semicircular bluff, so many were shooting. All the horses in
the camp were exceedingly wild, but finally we all mounted. Then we
charged the enemy and drove them. Most of our horses that had broken
loose ran in the direction of the enemy, so that they captured many of them.
Some of the Sioux were on foot. On their right, one man was running
somewhat behind the rest. I pursued him, shot, and killed him. Then I
ran toward him. The enemy turned and fired at me; but without stopping
I jumped on my horse, ran to the dead man, struck him with my whip, and
took his gun and his powder-horn. The Sioux shot at me in vain. So many
shot, that it looked as if they were throwing quantities of fire at me; for it
was yet not quite light. Soon it was broad daylight and the fight went on,
but the Sioux retreated fighting. Two Gros Ventre were wounded. A girl
had been wounded in the camp while lying asleep. The bullet entered her
knee and travelled up the thigh. On this occasion, also, I earned distinc-
tion. There were more Sioux than Gros Ventre; but they fled. Some in
their flight threw away their clothing, and returned home naked. A woman
who was with them threw away her dress, and reached her camp naked.
Some of the Gros Ventre families did not have a single horse left, as the
Sioux had captured the stampeded horses. This was about 1875.

BULL-ROBE'S NARRATIVE.

I was a young man when I went on my first war-trip. We started out
from the Little Rocky Mountains, crossed the Missouri, and went to where
the Yellowstone comes out of the mountains. There we came on a Crow
camp. We made preparations, and at night stole eighty horses. I myself

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took five. Going back to where our party had camped last, we found a Blackfoot war-party. We went on by them, and the Blackfeet went against the Crow. After sleeping a little, we went on for the remainder of the night and all next day. We ate at the Mussel-shell, and continued running our horses until we reached the Little Rockies. One of our party took two shields hanging on poles at the back of a tent, and one of us cut loose a horse which was tied by a rope passing into the door of a tent. After I returned I was at the camp for some time. Then I started out again. The same night that we had left we were overtaken by another party from our camp, who told us that a camp of Flatheads were in the vicinity. At that time the Piegan were with the Gros Ventre. A number of Gros Ventre and Piegan had already gone to the Flatheads and established peace with them, and were now among them. Accordingly, when we came to a Flathead who was herding horses, he made no attempt to escape. We did not understand this, but went up to him as if without intention to hurt him, and then one of our party, drawing a revolver, shot him through the breast. Then we immediately stampeded his horses. The Gros Ventre and Piegan who were visiting the Flatheads still had their horses saddled, and, joining the Flatheads, pursued us. We took refuge in the timber, and the pursuers set it on fire. It was very hot in the smoke and fire, with the tied horses bucking and trying to break loose. Then one of the Piegan with the Flatheads called to us who we were. Answering in Gros Ventre, one of us asked them if the people there were Gros Ventre, and they said, "Yes." Then they called us to come out of the timber, and we came and went to the Flathead camp all together. We passed by the man who had been shot, who was lying wounded, not yet dead. I had not yet dismounted, riding a horse that belonged to another man, and was afraid they would try to take my horse. My party soon left, and hardly were we gone when the Flatheads began to attack the friendly party of Gros Ventre, and drove them out of the camp. These people were of another band from ourselves, which was the reason that we did not know of their being with the Piegan. When the Flatheads attacked them, we all ran, and I was the first to return to camp, so that I know nothing that happened further.

After some time a war-party started again. There were four of us. Near the mountains we saw a Crow camp. We stole horses. I took two. We wanted more horses; so, turning those we had captured loose where they would not be seen, we went up into the mountains, and camped there that day. At night we went down to the Crow camp again. This time I stole five horses, and each of the others two. Then we returned with our horses to the camp of our people. But we did not sleep even one night there. We returned the very day we came, with another party starting out against

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159 the Crow. This time I took three horses. One of our party took a shield,
726 and three each cut loose a horse from a tent. When we returned, we found
that our people had moved to Teton, where we finally overtook them with
our captured horses.

I started on another trip. Following the Missouri down, we saw the buffalo leaving the river on both sides, showing that some one was coming. We sent out four men to scout, and waited until they came back. They said that whites were coming up the river, dragging a boat. We went to their camp at the mouth of a creek, and were treated well, being given ammunition and tobacco. A Gros Ventre woman captured by the Crow was with the whites on her way back to the Gros Ventre. From her we learned where the Crow were. Some of our party went back up the stream with the whites, but the rest of us crossed the river and went on. We came to where there was a small creek and a high rocky cliff. We stopped there and ate, and rested at night. We were smoking, when one of us said, "A herd of buffalo is coming. I will go and kill one." Another of us said, "First see what it is." He looked, and saw that it was a large party of Crow. We withdrew into the shade of the cliff. The Crow came extremely near, and sat down. They had seen our tracks, and said very little, and that in whispers. One of us said, "I think that it is the Piegan;" for we knew that a party of Piegan were in the neighborhood. Two of the horses of the Crow came so near us that we could have picked up their ropes. Then two men came up to their horses, and, feeling around in the little creek with their whip-handles for water, stooped to drink. One of our men said in Piegan, "Friends." The Crow jumped, ran, and their horses stampeded; we yelled, shot, and pursued, wounding one man. It was bright moonlight; but in the shadow of the cliff we had been invisible to the Crow. Soon the Crow turned and charged us, driving us before them. Then we turned, and drove them; and so on, back and forth. Whenever we got under the cliff and gave our war-yell, the echo strengthened it, and we frightened the Crow back; but the Crow would not leave us, so that we had to put up breastworks to defend ourselves. We fought all night, and at daybreak the Crow left us. Seeing a rocky butte, we said, "We will go up there. This is a bad place. Day is coming on, and if they charge us again, they might kill us." So we went up on the butte, taking with us a number of articles we had captured when the Crow ran the first time. Then we called to the Crow to come on; but they were leaving and went off. So we took charcoal, and made paint of it to put on our faces, and began to dance as a trial; but one of us said, "This does not satisfy me. I am going on." Then the rest of us all decided to go on too. We left what we had captured, taking only the best pieces. We went on to where we had been

told the Crow were, and found them there. But first we met a party of Gros Ventre and Piegan. They were coming away from the Crow, but now went back with us against them. At night three of us, including myself, tried to get away their horses from two men who were herding, while the rest of the party went into the camp. They captured many horses there; but we three got none, because the herders were watching too closely. Now it was nearly daylight and the rest of our party had gone, and the Crow had discovered the theft. Then we three knew that we could not escape with the rest of the party, for we were unmounted. So we went into the timber not very far from the Crow camp, and hid. During the day a Crow came near us with a large bunch of horses to water them. We said to each other, "When he has watered them, let us each catch a horse, and flee into the mountains." The Crow went back, leaving his horses, and we each took one, -- I, a white one; one of the other men, a painted one; and the third, a mouse-colored one. Then we escaped into the mountains without having been seen. We came across another bunch of horses and started to drive them off. Two were hobbled, and I dismounted to cut them loose. A Crow came out of the timber and shouted. He had a gun, but was too frightened to shoot. Thinking there might be others, I jumped on my horse, and we all rode off back on the mountain, leaving the horses we had just found. From the mountain we could see how, when the Crow came to the camp, there was a stir all over it. That night we stole eleven horses. We killed a buffalo, ate, and then went back, with these eleven horses and the three we were riding, to our camp in the mountain. At night we went to get more. Crossing the river, we came to a herd of twenty-three horses, and began to drive them off. Then one of us said, "Something comes up in my mouth that tastes like blood." He had a hemorrhage. Then we ran our horses all night and all the next day, for we were riding good animals. Coming to buffalo, we killed one, and ate. Then we saw the buffalo coming towards us. Watching, we saw that Crow were coming in pursuit of us. They were perhaps a mile away. We fled, and the Crow pursued. Once they would gain, and then we. If we had not had good horses, we should have been killed. Turning suddenly, we went up into a mountain, so that the Crow lost our track. All the next day, however, we fled, and at night came across a camp where a Gros Ventre and a Piegan, on the war-path, were snoring. We waked them, told them that the Crow were pursuing us, and all five of us fled. We fled during the next day. Then we stopped running. These two men had captured a number of horses, so that we had sixty-two in all. I myself had two; my two companions, one each. When we returned, we did not go out for a time. It was now winter.

Then a party started and I went with them. We met five Gros Ventre

159 who were bringing ninety horses they had taken from the Crow. From
26 them we learned their location. After about ten days, the Chinook blew,
so that the snow was all gone. As we were travelling, we heard a shot in
the air above, and said that it must have been Above-Nix'a't. Some of
the five men we had met were going with us. When we came near the Crow
camp, we saw the Crow coming out for buffalo, so we returned to our last
camp. At night we came again, and took one hundred and eighty-seven
horses. I took six fast ones. Then some of our party took this herd home;
but I and some others staid there, not yet having had enough. We stole
thirty horses, and, sending these back by some of the party, staid to get more.
The next time we took forty-one, which we also sent back. The next time
we got nine. These we sent back too, and then took seven more. Then
we took successively eleven and twelve, and nine more,—all from the same
camp. After this we went there four times, but could get no more. Then
we came the thirteenth time, and stole ninety. All this was in one trip.
Then the Crow found us out, and we had to flee.

I went on another trip against the same band of Crow. A horse stood
with his rope leading into a tent. I do not know whether it was tied inside,
or held by some one. I cut it loose, jumped on it, and rode off. That was
all I took on that trip.

I started out again in autumn. We fought with the Crow, and a Gros
Ventre was wounded, being shot through both hips. Nothing else came of
that fight.

Then I went out again, and this time stole three horses.

I started out again, and while we were travelling we saw an elk. I went
to head it off, but as I could not shoot it I went back. Returning, I could
not find my party. It was a large flat, and, hearing shots, I thought my
party were shooting elk, when a party of Snakes on horses came towards
me. I fled, but being on foot they soon caught up with me and surrounded
me. They all shot, and I do not know how it is that they did not hit me. I
was numb, and did not think of my gun. Coming to my senses, I seized my
gun, and raising it drove them all about. Then I ran to the timber, and,
jumping into the brush, stopped short. A Snake with a tomahawk and
shield was pursuing me. He saw me as I was raising my gun, and held up
his shield before him. I lowered my gun, aimed at his belly, shot, and hit
him. Then I ran without stopping, and escaped. Thirteen in our party
were killed by the Snakes; but I, though I was alone, escaped. Most of
those in our party who were not killed were children, young boys who had
gone along.

Again I went out. We were all mounted. Crossing the Yellowstone,
we came to the Crow, and about noon charged on the horses that were near

the camp. The Crow began to shoot, and our party turned; but I continued riding straight on between the Crow camp and the herd of horses, paying no attention to the shots, and succeeded in driving off the entire herd. I had thirteen shots in my shirt, and seven of the eagle-feathers on my shield were cut off by bullets, and my horse was shot through the neck. I was wounded, being creased on the hip. When our party saw me riding on, two of them followed me. One of these was shot in the belly so that his intestines hung out; the other was shot in the arm. So three of our party were wounded, but I only slightly.

I started out again. We were all on horseback. Just north of where the Yellowstone comes into the Missouri, the Crow were about to camp. We killed three, and then went into the timber. The Crow came and made a charge on us, and we fled. So far, I had only led my best horse, but now I rode him. The entire Crow camp pursued us. We also were a large party. As we fled, two of our men on slow horses called to me to come and protect them, for they would be killed. Becoming angry, I turned and rode straight at the Crow. Turning them, I rode among them, scattering them on all sides. The noise of the guns was one continuous roar. I had only a sword with which I slashed and cut. Then I rode back, and the Crow followed me. Two or three times I turned them back. Then a Crow dismounted, aimed, and shot as I swerved my horse. The horse was shot in the ribs. By this time those Gros Ventre who had been the first to flee, had selected a good place to fight, and had thrown up breastworks. Then I went out ahead of the others on foot. The Gros Ventre shot a Crow, and I ran forward and took his gun. I was jumping about constantly, so much did they shoot at me. The Crow charged me, but were not brave enough to drive me back. Two of our men came to me, and we stood below a little ridge. The Crow women shouted, and some of them cried for the dead; but it did them no good. About sunset they stopped fighting, and retreated. Then we got up, put the scalps on a pole, and danced, taunting the Crow. All the Crow women and some of the men cried. At night we started back, and, as we were travelling, two men of the party secretly left us, and went back to steal horses. We waited for them. One of them came back bringing horses, and after a while we saw the other also coming along the edge of the river. He had succeeded in stealing a robe and a shield.

I went out again with a mounted party. Two men went ahead to scout. They went in the wrong direction, and finally saw an Assiniboine camp behind us, not far from where we were camped. Then we turned our attention to it. Two Assiniboine came out from the camp for buffalo, and, looking over the hill, saw us and returned. We now went so near the camp

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159 that we could see the children playing. Then I said to the man in the
126 party that had the swiftest horse, "Lend me your horse, and I will charge
on the camp and carry off one of the children." So he gave me his horse;
but the others in the party said to him, "You ought not to give it to him.
He is crazy and will do anything, and will surely be killed." So the man
took his horse away from me again. Then we lay in a gully, waiting for an
opportunity. Seeing two horses coming from the tents, we made a charge,
and captured them. The Assiniboine did not offer to fight. Ours was a
large party, and they were afraid. So we captured these two horses in
broad daylight. And that was all that happened on that trip.

The Gros Ventre camp moved to the mouth of Milk River, on a point
of land. I was sitting in my tent smoking, and decided to look after my
horses. When I went out from the camp, some one came running, asking,
"Is that you?" When I said, "Yes," he said, "I have seen some one
coming." Knowing that he meant strangers, I ran to my tent and got my
gun. Going out with my companion, we saw four of the enemy. He shot,
but I pursued them without shooting. I separated one from the three
others and pursued him, driving him straight towards our camp. He
became so frightened that he ran into a tent. Women were inside doctoring.
He went behind the doctoring woman and held her around in his arms.
I followed him in, and ordered the women to go out, as I wanted to kill the
man. Some of them held me; but I said, "He is an enemy, and I will kill
him. He may hurt some of you." So they went out, and the man huddled
against the wall of the tent. I fired two shots into him. He jumped up
and yelled, and I took a double-edged knife and stabbed him. He took a
long time to die, lying groaning. I cut off his entire scalp; then the people
began to come in. One man cut off the long hair from the knee of the
buffalo-skin lying on the bed, thinking it was the man's scalp. The stranger
proved to be an Assiniboine. The Crow and Gros Ventre were camped
together at the time.

The camp was moving eastward, hunting buffalo. Two companies of
soldiers were seen coming, and everybody went to meet them, hoping to
get something to eat from them. When the soldiers left, one man with his
wife staid with them for the night. In the morning he left the company of
soldiers he was with to go to the other one that was camped near by. While
going, he was attacked by Piegan, shot and wounded, and only escaped
through the nearness of the soldiers. His wife informed the Gros Ventre
that her husband had been shot by Piegan. All the Gros Ventre and Crow
started out, and soon saw the Piegan going over the hill. They pursued
them over a flat. They thought the Piegan a war-party, and did not sus-
pect that they came from a camp near by. They came suddenly on their

camp, from which all the Piegan now issued, whereupon the Gros Ventre and Crow fled. Their horses were already tired and were becoming exhausted. So some half-Piegan who were with the Crow said that they would make peace. Four of them stopped, motioned, and spoke in Piegan. Then they shook hands with the Piegan. The Gros Ventre meanwhile told those of their men whose horses were most exhausted to continue on, and they did so. The Piegan chief asked if Many-Birds were among the Gros Ventre. He said, "I want to see him. He once saved my life." Then they called back among those who were still fleeing for Many-Birds, and he answered that he was there. A Piegan chief rode up to him and asked him whether his horse was tired. Many-Birds said, "Yes." The Piegan told him, "Take mine. It is fresh. You helped me, and I want to save your life, for the Piegan might still attack you. But they are my children, and I do not think they will." So he exchanged horses with Many-Birds, and gave him his gun and powder-horn also. Then they parted, and all returned except the four half-Piegan, who went with the Piegan. In the evening three of these returned to the Crow, but the fourth one staid with the Piegan over night. In the morning, when he started to return, he met one of the other three. This man (who was really a Crow that had been captured by the Piegan, but had gone back and lived again with the Crow) now had stolen a herd of horses, and was fleeing once more to the Piegan. The one who was returning to the Crow suspected what he had done, and thought that he might try to shoot himself. The traitor did suddenly shoot; but the other was prepared, saw him, and ducked behind his horse. After the shot, he pursued the other man, who fled; but, his horse stumbling, he fell, and the pursuer shot him. Thereupon he drove the stolen horses back to the Crow camp and told that he had killed the traitor. Then the man's relatives went out, buried him, and mourned over him; but the rest of the camp celebrated over his death. That night, after the dance was over, all agreed that it would be well to watch for the Piegan. So the men all watched. I sat by my hobbled horse. Suddenly close by me I saw the flame of a gun and heard a shot. I ran toward the place, but three or four were already upon the man and had struck him. When I reached him, he kicked me in the breast. Seizing his foot, I cut it off with my knife. So we killed him. We never knew of what tribe he was. He was dressed very poorly, with ragged leggings.

We were moving down along Milk River, and made the crazy-dance. A party of Gros Ventre went to war together with some Bloods. Very soon after they started, one of each tribe in the party was killed. The others returned, and the parents of the dead men mourned. I still had the paint of the crazy-dance on me. Then an old man called to me, "Why do you sit still? You ought to pity your mourning grandfather. Go in advance

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159 of the camp to scout." So I went ahead of the camp as it moved. At the
726 mouth of People's Creek I crossed the river with two companions. Then
we saw buffalo. I sent one man to drive them towards myself and my
other companion. He drove them, and we ran the buffalo and killed one.
We began to cut it up. Then I started to go on with one of my companions
while the other finished cutting up the meat. Then he followed us. Look-
ing back as we rode over a ridge, we saw two men on foot approaching him.
We motioned and shouted to him, and when he came up asked him, "Did
you see nothing?" He said that he had not, and we told him that two men
had nearly succeeded in killing him. He had had no cause for suspicion,
since the buffalo all about him were still and unalarmed. Then I said,
"These are the men that did the killing a few days ago. Now we will take
revenge. We have the advantage, for we are three to two. Each of you
will take a powder-horn, but I will take both their guns." Then the two
men came towards us without offering to fight, and I went to meet them.
I shook hands with one and took away his gun, shook hands with the other
and took his gun too. Then I said to my companions, "Now is your chance
to kill them." But they would not do so. They did not want me to have
both guns. So I said, "If you will not kill them, let us take them to the
camp and feed them to the dogs." So I took one on my horse, and one of
my companions took the other, and we rode double. I made the one
with me shoot off his gun. I thought that when he came to be killed, he
might hurt some one in the camp. And I told my companion to make the
one with him shoot off his gun also, which he did. Now both their guns
were empty. We came near the camp, called out, and at once the whole
camp became lit up. It was night. The chief came, and asked, "What
is it?" I said, "I have your enemies. I bring your food." Then the
chief called out, "Bull-Robe has brought your enemies. Do with them as
you please." Then the man mourning for the killed Gros Ventre came out,
and I told him, "Take your revenge;" but he would not kill them. They
took the two men into the camp and set them free. They were Assiniboine.

I started again to go to war. There were Crow and Cree and Assiniboine
and Gros Ventre in our party. We saw the Piegan camp. We dressed in
our war-ornaments, and I tied up my horse's tail. Then the leader of the
party called me a coward, and said I only fought when I was drunk. Taking
my whip, I held it to my mouth like a bottle, as if drinking. "Well, now I
am drunk," I said. "I will show you what I will do. You will go your
way, and I will go mine." Accompanied by a Crow, I went toward the
Piegan camp. The remainder of the party approached the camp from all
directions. A Piegan came out, and when he was some distance from the
camp we two charged on him. I was in the lead, but my horse stepped

into a hole, stumbled, and lost his gait; and the Crow passed me, struck the Piegan, and shot him. The Piegan fell, started to get up again, and I jumped on him astride his body, cut his head and took his scalp. Then we fled. Seeing some of our party, I called to them, "This is the way to do. That chief is nothing." As we fled we saw the Piegan sitting up, holding the skin of his forehead with his hand in order to raise his eyebrows from his eyes so that he could see. The blood was spurting from him the length of this room. So I said, "You had better kill the poor fellow. He is still sitting up." Then some of us went back and killed him. We returned, and celebrated our victory.

I went with another war-party to Sweet-grass Hills, in the Piegan country. In the morning, as we were going, I smelled something like distant fire. "I smell something like fire," I said. They said to me, "You smell something in your nose." So we joked one another until all of them smelled it. Then we sent out a scout. He came back, and reported that a hunting-party was off to the left of our route, and that they were packing up to move. Then I said, "Let us go ahead of them to a place where they will pass, and charge on them." We went down a ravine until we came to where it spread out and was flat. There we lay down, and one of us watched if the Piegan were coming. When we asked him if the Piegan had come, he said, "No." Some of them had already passed by. Either he had not seen them, or he did not want to announce it. Then hearing something like talking, and thinking, "That sounds like talking," I raised my head, looked, and saw part of them already gone by. So saying, "Only dogs stand and watch their food," I charged and the rest followed. The Piegan had their horses loaded with meat. As we came, the women ran, scattering and screaming. Seeing fifteen loaded horses, some of them painted horses, I went to drive them back. The Piegan men who were in advance now came back, charging us, surrounding me, shooting, and trying to drive me away from the horses; but I would not leave them, however much they shot, and kept driving the horses into the ravine. Then Many-Birds came to me, saying, "I am with you to stand by you." Taking the rope of one of the horses I was driving, I gave it to him, telling him not to let it go. This was in the morning, and we fought all day. The Piegan made their camp near by. It was a hot day, and having no water we suffered much from thirst. We unloaded meat from the horses, cooked some of it, and ate. We tied some of the horses fast, but some of them we could not tie; and part of these the Piegan recaptured. We killed three Piegan, but the Piegan secured their bodies. Two Gros Ventre were wounded; one of them low in the leg, the other creased in the back. In the evening we went to a rocky hill, having taken what meat we wanted and left the rest on the ground. Instead of

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159 going on, we stopped behind the hill. When the Piegan rode up to the meat
226 in order to recover it, we gave them a volley, shooting several of them off their
horses. They fled; but we rode on, looking for water, until we came to a
creek, where we sat drinking a little at a time, quenching our thirst. Then
we went home.

I started to go to war again. We found a Piegan camp, and approached
it. The others did not want to charge, as the distance to the camp and
back again to a place of safety was too great. Then I was going to make
the charge alone. Some of our party happened to see five Piegan hunting
a buffalo, and called to me what they had seen, telling me to come. So I
rode in that direction, but did not see the Piegan. When I came near, I
saw them riding toward the timber, and at once rode after them. The Pie-
gan jumped off their horses and abandoned them, making for the timber;
but I headed them off just before they reached it. One Piegan was in the
brush on the ground, and I tried to ride him over. The brush was in the
way, and my horse jumped over him. As I passed, I struck at him with my
lance, and he shot up at me; but we missed. Then I went at him again.
The Piegan had his gun aimed at me; but I rode straight on and pierced him
in the breast, so that he shot to one side. Another one came for me with
an arrow on his bow. I pierced him in the breast also, so that he dropped
his bow. Then my party reached the place and killed the other three, I
having killed the first two. We took the scalps of the five men and every-
thing that they had.

When I went out again we saw smoke of a camp. Then we prepared
ourselves and painted. A Crow in the party had his little boy with him, who
was old enough to ride his horse well. The man took a large shell gorget
from his throat, which he wore as an amulet, and now gave it to his son.
Then the boy said, "You want me to do something great. I am only a little
boy, but I will do something. You must not mourn for me if I am killed.
Tell my mother not to cut her hair except a little, for I do not like it if people
cut their hair." Then his father gave him a crooked lance; and the boy
ripped and tore off his leggings and his shirt, and they put him on a horse.
Suddenly the boy hit his father's hand with the whip, so that he let go the
bridle, and then shot ahead. I was leading, but the boy went past me. I
did not try to keep ahead of him, but let him go to see what he would do.
Then we saw that the people were whites; but the boy kept riding straight
on. He charged a shelter and rode right over it; but the men who had been
in it had already started, and were on their way. The boy kept on and rode
up to them, and, as they stepped aside for him, he struck one of them across
the back with his crook. Then we staid with these whites over night. In
the morning we went on, and soon saw what looked like a party with wagons.

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Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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We went to see. They were Indians on horseback, riding so close together ¹⁵⁹ that they looked like wagons. They went into a place where we could not ⁷²⁶ well attack them, and we went on. Then we came near Fort Benton. To avoid being seen, we had to ride along a bank near the river, sometimes in the water. A companion and I raised bunches of sage-brush, and lay behind them on the top of a bluff, watching. We saw two mounted men leaving the trading-post. We went back and told the party, and I said, "I will charge on them." All wanted to be with me. I told them, "You do not know your hearts, but you say you want to charge." I went ahead, and, when we came on the ridge, saw the two men riding slowly along. I signed to the party to be quiet; but when they came up on the ridge they gave a war-yell, and the two men fled. I was already near them, and gained on them. Riding up, I struck one across the face with my whip. He had drawn his gun on me, but it was too late to shoot. After I had struck him, I wrenched his gun from him and stuck it through my belt. Seizing him by the hair, I swung my horse against his, and threw him off, then let him fall. Then I pursued the other. Him also I whipped in the face twice. He too was going to shoot, but when I struck him he could not see anything. I could have wrenched his gun away also, but did not do so. I seized his hair, and dragged him off his horse by swerving mine into his. Following up the horse, I caught it and led it back. Then I saw a great fight in the flat below. Giving my captured horse to one of my men, I went straight at the enemy, who were unmounted Bloods. They were in a line, and I went to ride past their front. I galloped down the middle towards them, and they all fired at me. Then, knowing that their guns were empty, I rode straight into them, knocking them in all directions. Perhaps my horse did it. I counted that I struck seven. Then I rode for my life. We were still fighting, when a white man came and told us to stop. He said to us Gros Ventre, "You have already beaten them enough." So we stopped, and all went to the fort. On our way, I alone charged on the Bloods, and struck an elderly man and his wife. We started to go into the enclosure at the fort, when the gates were shut on us while most of our party were still outside. They had the captured Bloods' horses, and among them, unknown to us, some horses belonging to the whites. Then they let me go out to bring back our men with the whites' horses. Two of our party had already gone off with two mules, but we drove the remainder into a corral. There were so many horses that it could hardly be told to whom they belonged. Then we all camped together, Crow and Gros Ventre and Bloods. There was a Crow woman with the party. A young good-looking Blood became enamoured of her, and made advances to her. She told the Crow, who said to her, "Proceed with him, and we will kill him." Then she went out on the

159 prairie, and he followed and met her. This she did three or four times,
 226 until he was very much in love with her and wanted to marry her. She said
 that if he would go with her, she would marry him. He was afraid of the
 Gros Ventre. Then the Crow told us to go in advance, in order that he
 might go with them. The whites distributed food, guns, ammunition, and
 blankets among us all. Then we Gros Ventre went off, but lay down behind
 a ridge. The Crow gave the Blood four horses for himself and his wife,
 and they started to go to the Missouri. The man whose wife this woman
 was pretended that she was not his wife. He rode alongside, and, when the
 Blood's attention was directed elsewhere, killed him. Then we Gros Ventre
 and those of the Crow with us came out from where we had been hiding
 behind the hill, and danced, while the remaining Crow brought his scalp.
 From there we went home. We crossed the Missouri at a place called
 Magpie Tail, where there are steep hills. We came on a Crow camp, and
 made a charge on it. One of the Crow charged into it, striking and whip-
 ping every one, as if out of his senses. One of the men in-camp became
 angry, pulled him off his horse, hit him, kicked him, and pulled his hair.
 The man who had charged got up laughing.

WATCHES-ALL'S NARRATIVE.

Once I gambled with a Crow woman and lost my beads, and my mother
 made me cry. The next day a war-party started out, and, because my
 mother had made me cry, I went with them. All of the party were on foot,
 except two (women?) on horseback. After we had stopped for the night
 twice, my mother came after me with a horse for me to ride. We went
 northward against the Piegan. When we came to mountains, all the
 women in the party went out to pick choke-cherries. The road was impass-
 able from mud, and it was stormy. Some young men climbed the moun-
 tain to look for camps. It was snowing hard and they could not see far;
 but in the afternoon it cleared, and with a telescope they could see a camp
 in the distance. They measured it with a ramrod. They went back to the
 party howling like coyotes, and zigzagging in their course. The women in
 the party stood in line, and sang. When they came near, the scouts rode
 about in a circle until one of the party went to them and brought them.
 Then they reported what they had seen. Then the whole party painted
 and danced and sang, preparing for the fight. In the evening we started,
 and travelled all night. One man had a ghost-bone (a human femur).

[787] While I was asleep, he summoned the ghost. "What is it?" said the ghost.
 "Are there many people in the Piegan camp?" asked the man. The ghost
 said, "There are as many as grass. I give you two persons, also some horses

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to steal. Let those who are on foot go back from here, and let the few who are mounted go on against the camp. They will do well, and kill two people, and capture horses. But if all go, a great many will be killed." The next morning my mother told me this. The party, however, were not influenced at all by what the ghost said, and went on. When we came near, two young men killed a Piegan called Sits-in-the-Middle and his wife. Then our party killed two more Piegan close by their camp, but, as one of the men stooped to strike the fallen Piegan, the Piegan stabbed him in the back over the kidney, making a hole large enough to breathe through. We tied him around with gunny sacks. Thus we killed three men and a woman. Then all the Piegan attacked us. I saw more people than ever before. They came like ants, and the smoke hung as over a smelter. Two of the Gros Ventre drove all of our party, even the women, against the Piegan to make them fight. A Gros Ventre was shot through the thigh-bone, and fell from his horse. He stuck his crooked lance in the ground and sat there; and all his brothers went to help him so that he would not be killed soon. And all the Piegan attacked him. Just as one of them dashed up to strike him, he raised his gun and shot him. Another and another came up, until he had killed six. Then he himself was killed. Then some of the Gros Ventre said, "Let us lead them after us from their camp." The Gros Ventre started to run, and the Piegan pursued. The Gros Ventre who were mounted ran their horses as hard as they could. They never stopped running, and a great many of those who were on foot were killed. I was riding behind another woman. Our horse stepped into a hole, and pitched forward. The woman was thrown off, but I was thrown into the saddle. The horse started up again, but stepped on his bridle, which checked him. A Piegan rode up and struck me with his gun. Then he took my wrist, and I dismounted as he did. Another one came, and, after striking me too, took off my bead necklace. The one who had captured me took me back as far as it is from here to the river (about thirty miles). We saw bodies of Gros Ventre as we went back to camp. We came to the camp about noon. Everybody struck me. All day they came and hit me, and one man hit me on the forehead and nearly killed me. A Piegan woman tied up my head. I wore a fine dress covered with elk-teeth. I took it off, and a Piegan woman took it away. Then the Piegan directed their people to gather all the captives. They asked them if the Gros Ventre had done anything to Sits-in-the-Middle, who had been found in an indecent position with his wife. The captives all said that the Gros Ventre would not do such a thing, and the Piegan were satisfied. Eight Piegan, all prominent men, had been killed.

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When our party returned, my father asked where I was. Some one told him that a Piegan had taken me back to his camp. Then my father said

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to my mother, who had returned safely, "Go and bring my daughter, or I will kill you." So my mother came alone to the Piegan. When she arrived, there was a big noise. Then a chief came out of his tent with only his knife, and called out, "Do not kill that woman!" Then she went to where the captives were. The man who had captured me, No-Chief, said aloud, "I pity this woman. I will treat her well. Every one all over the world hears it. I will take good care of her." Another Piegan took my mother. Then they brought me to a tent where there were a pipe, a pipe-stem, a knife, and a gun, and two men sitting, who both claimed me. I was told to say which of them had captured me. I held up my hand and told how my horse had stumbled, and how this one, who was No-Chief, had captured me, and how the other one had taken my beads. Then the other one tried to kill me. Some Piegan women hid me. In the morning the Piegan broke camp. I had no moccasins, no robe, and only one dress. No-Chief always rode around me, and protected me from the many people who wanted to kill me. He had taken me for his wife, and would not allow it. When we were camped, he rode over to the tent where my mother was, and told her to come at night to his tent. He would give her and me horses to ride, in order to flee, and would give us clothing and a piece of tobacco, which we were to cut in two, and each of us to give half to her husband. My mother agreed, and he came back; but that night my mother did not come. In the morning a man rode around the camp, crying, "Bring out all the captives. I will put them on my son's grave." Then the women hid me. The other Gros Ventre captives were also hidden. Fourteen of them were saved, but four were killed. Then they brought all the spoils to the middle of the camp, and counted them. They counted how many pieces had been captured, how many horses had been taken, and how many Gros Ventre had been killed. They who had done most became chiefs.

Then No-Chief, my husband, said to me, "If any one wants to buy you from me, I will sell you." Then my mother persuaded a Piegan to buy me. I was angry when No-Chief sold me for two horses. I staid with this other man. Sometimes people still tried to kill me, and he kept them from me. Then we came to Elk River, where there was an encampment of soldiers. The soldiers tried to persuade the Piegan to sell them all their slaves. One Piegan rode around the camp, crying, "Sell all the slaves. They will run off anyway. We cannot keep them." But at night all moved away, and none sold their captives. I always took care of my husband's little boy, and did my work, and got along well. A white man tried to buy me; but my husband did not sell me. I asked the white man not to try to buy me, as I wanted to return home. Another Gros Ventre woman who had been captured persuaded her husband's little boy to ask him to let her go. The

boy asked his father, and the man told her that she could go after tanning ten hides. She prepared the skins, made herself moccasins, took pemmican with her, and went. Her husband did not give her a horse, because many Piegiens were then scattered through the country, and would more readily see her if mounted. That winter I staid with the Piegan. We went to the Sweet-grass Hills and killed all the buffalo we needed. About the time the snow thawed, we went back to the former place. Once a Piegan came to get men to reinforce his party, who were attacking a Gros Ventre camp; but the same night the Gros Ventre fled, leaving a dead man and one who had been shot through the leg. These were all that the Piegan found next morning. Two Piegan had also been killed.

Then I went with my husband hunting buffalo. A shot was heard from the top of a mountain, and our party went back. It was a rainy day. Then Bear-Head, a Piegan, took two Gros Ventre women to the foot of the mountain and made them call out, "Come down! Here is something to eat." He wanted to find out of what tribe those on the mountain were; but there was no answer. That night the people on the mountain, who were Gros Ventre, came and stole horses from the camp. The Bloods also stole horses. The Piegan followed their tracks, and killed two of them; but they did not follow the Gros Ventre. Then we went to a place called Needle-Nest, then to Large-Rock, then to White-Wolf, where a Gros Ventre had once made the sun-dance lodge. Then two Gros Ventre women ran away and escaped. From there we went to another place. When we made camp I went for wood with my sister, a Piegan co-wife. Then my sister sent me to my mother, whose husband had just killed a buffalo. I went there; and my mother's sister (co-wife) told her, "Cook something for your daughter." Then I brought back meat to my husband; but my mother's husband was stingy with his meat, and scolded her. Then his Piegan wife said to my mother, "You and your daughter are living poorly. You had better run off." So when I brought back the plates (on which the meat had been carried), my mother said she would escape with me that night. She said she would wait for me all night. She told me to leave my moccasins with her, and I left them. Then my husband whipped me because he thought that I would run off. He told me not to sleep all night, but to sit up straight. Toward morning, while my two sisters slept, I ran out. My mother was waiting for me, and we ran to the creek, over the hills and down again. It stopped raining, and soon it became day. We dug a hole and got into it, and hid all day. At night we ran on again. It was cloudy and dark. We were near Cow Creek. An owl called in the woods. My mother said the owl was calling us, so we went there. It became day, but we went on. We were out of the timber when we saw people coming, so we ran back and

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159 hid. At night it rained again, and was so dark that we could see only by the lightning. I was walking with two sticks. We came to the mouth of Cow Creek, where the banks were high and steep, and slid down. I was thirsty, but could not reach the water: so my mother held my wrist while I scooped downward with the other hand and thus got a little water. We heard the beavers working. Then a steamboat came by up the river (the Missouri). My mother was asleep, but I was awake. Then we crossed Cow Creek at the very mouth, and on the other side of the stream found a piece of gunny sack. I took this for a robe, and gave mine to my mother. We saw another boat going up the river, and my mother wanted us to get on it and go back to Fort Benton, as she wanted to sell me to the whites. Then I held my mother fast in the brush, for I did not want to go, and said, "There are many Piegan women there, and we will be known and taken back." I got out my knife and tried to kill my mother, because I did not want to go. Then we followed the Missouri down along the north side during that day. Soon we saw a bear asleep. We made a circuit around him, came back into the timber, and went on. We saw smoke down the river, and another steamboat came, and we hid in the brush. The boat stopped and unloaded near where we were. Being thirsty, we had gone to the river to drink and wash, and saw the boat. Then we started to run to it. I threw away my gunny-sack robe. Our moccasins were gone. Then we saw Crow and a Grös Ventre woman on the boat. It had started before we reached it, but we called out to it and it came back for us. The boat took us across the river at a bend of the Missouri, where there was a store and a saloon and a camp of Crow. The Crow women pitied us and cried over us because we were so poor, and laid down many robes for us to sit on, and felt the sores on our feet. The storekeeper had a Grös Ventre wife. She had been down the river visiting, and was the woman on the boat. This man opened a keg, and gave us whiskey. We drank some and then more. My mother became unconscious, but I was still drinking, sitting up and telling of our escape.

There was an officer (soldier-chief) at the Bend whose Piegan wife had run off to Fort Benton. He was leaving to go after her, and gave us sugar, cloth, blankets, and a sack full of meat, which he told us to get from the root-house. While we were staying here, my mother asked the trader's Grös Ventre wife to go with us to scrape juice from the inside of cottonwood-bark. The woman refused, being afraid of the Sioux, but we urged her, and at last she went. We were scraping, and the trader's wife was bending down. When she looked up, she saw Sioux on the hill. "Didn't I tell you the Sioux would come? Let us run back," she said. We ran. The woman fell. We raised her up and ran on. Again she fell, being frightened nearly

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Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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to death. We turned and ran back and picked her up, and ran on until we reached the store. The Sioux and the white man exchanged shots, but they were too far apart. The Sioux went on and killed a white man who was employed in cutting wood for the steamboats, and who had just shot a bear. They laid this man in the fire and burned him up, so that only his legs were found. After this we women were afraid to go even a very short distance from the store. Then the Crow swam their horses to the north side of the river. In the river a white horse stopped, went down, came up again, and went down; a *buxan* took it.

Then my mother said that she was tired of staying there, and with a Gros Ventre, Bull-Lodge (there being ten of us in all, six men and four women), we went down the river on the boat. Then the boat stuck and had to back. The buffalo crossed the Missouri, and the whites on board caught them by the horns, cut their throats, and dragged them ashore. Then we had a big feast of ribs and paunches and the best parts. We went on, and stopped at the mouth of Milk River. There Bull-Lodge set up his tent, but I and my mother slept on the boat. The next day we all went up Milk River on foot; only Bull-Lodge and his wife were on horses. We kept on the trail, and came to a recent camp-site. The Gros Ventre and Assiniboine were then at war. One of our party, looking back and seeing some persons coming, asked Bull-Lodge for his horse to scout. Riding back, he saw that six buffalo were coming towards us. That evening Bull-Lodge and his wife went on, while the rest of us went to sleep where we were. Bull-Lodge travelled during the night and reached the Gros Ventre camp, where the old men were still awake smoking. He told my brother that my mother and I were behind and that he had better bring us and the others horses. Then the people came and brought us, and all were glad to see us again.

PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS.

Men went out to fast with the intention of becoming doctors, or receiving miraculous powers. They did not go as boys, but after they had reached manhood. Not all men tried to acquire such powers, and some of those that did failed. They went to hills and high places, usually high up on mountains, among the rocks above the timber. In such a place they would make a shelter in which to sleep. Then they remained fasting and without drinking water for one or two or more often four or five nights. A Crow who staid seven nights and nearly died, being extremely thin when he returned, was regarded as extremely powerful. It was thought that he could accomplish almost any wish by merely expressing it. Besides fasting, a man cried

787 incessantly. After a time a spirit might appear to him. Perhaps this
 776 would be on the first or second night, perhaps later. Sometimes it was in
 full daylight, and the man really saw the spirit like a true person; but more
 usually he saw him in his sleep. It might be a person that appeared, that
 is to say, an untrue person (spirit), or an animal, or the spirit of a rock or
 of the brush. Some men went to islands and rivers instead of to mountain-
 peaks. These might receive the otter, or the beaver, or the muskrat, or
 the water-monster (bax'aa") as their guardian spirit. Sometimes when a
 man was crying on a mountain-top in a thunderstorm, the thunder (bax'aa")
 appeared to him. The lightning shot straight towards him, as if to hit him,
 and the bird was so near above his head that the man sometimes became
 afraid and ran away. If he staid, the thunder-bird became his spirit, and
 gave him medicine that was unusually powerful. Generally, it seems, the
 man cried incessantly, until he was exhausted and fell asleep. Then the
 spirit appeared to him, saying, "I pity you. What do you want?" The
 man said that he wished to be wealthy, or successful in war or love, or to
 756 become a medicine-man. If he was to be a doctor, the spirit showed him
 776 roots and plants, telling him to note their appearance, and informing him
 787 of the diseases for which they were a cure. Those plants that he had seen
 in his dream or vision, the new doctor looked for until he found them. His
 spirit told him, "In so many years (naming the number) you will begin to
 doctor." After that time had elapsed, he began doctoring. The spirit or
 animal told him that the place where he was was its own home. From this
 time on, the man never killed the animal that had appeared to him (except,
 apparently, for the purpose of obtaining parts of it as a fetish or amulet);
 nor did he eat of it under any circumstances. He used a part of the animal,
 especially the claws or the fur, in his doctoring. If the spirit of a rock had
 appeared to him, he used a stone.

755 Medicine-men cured the sick by sucking the body and by brushing it.
 As is customary among Indians, they were believed to suck through the
 skin without biting, cutting, or puncturing it. They might suck blood,
 pebbles, cloth, human finger-nails, bunches of hair, and many other things.
 If they sucked out old pus, it was evidence that the disease was of long
 standing. If they brushed or rubbed the patient, they used owl-feathers,
 skunk-skin, prairie-dog fur, or similar parts of animals. Some used bells
 as rattles, some whistles, and some drums; and all sang, each doctor having
 his own songs. After sucking the patient, the doctor chewed up medicine,
 which he then applied to the patient's body. He often also gave him medi-
 cine boiled in water to drink. The powers of doctors varied. Different men
 were able to cure different diseases. It is said, however, that none could do
 much for affections of the ear.

Doctors were paid a horse or more for their services. Sometimes several, 756
in turn, doctored a patient, each one blaming those that had failed before.
Often they laid the sickness to spirits, or to other doctors. This last occurred
especially if in their sucking they extracted human finger-nails or similar
objects. In such a case the doctor got his patient to sleep. The patient
might then in his dream see the person that had made him sick, and on
awaking would denounce him. If the
sick man died, his relatives might kill
the doctor whom he had named as the
cause of his sickness.

There were not so many women doctors
as men. They appear not to have
gone out to the mountains with the inten-
tion of acquiring supernatural power, but
to have received guardian spirits when
they were away from the camp,
mourning.

The jugular and femoral arteries and
the aorta were called ts'niinotanoudj¹
("having no ears"), because, when sey-
ered, they did not heed any remedies.

In order to save the life of a sick rela-
tive, the joint of the little finger was
sometimes cut off in sacrifice to the
sun.

There were some medicine-men who,
having had their fingers tied, then had
their knees fastened together and their
hands secured behind their back. After
this they were wrapped in a robe and the
robe was wound about with a rope.
Then such a medicine-man called his
spirit. When it appeared, he was loos-
ened instantaneously, and the robe and the rope were thrown at the man
that tied him.

A charm used by a doctor is shown in Fig. 30. It consists of a deer-tail 756
with beaded base, and of two black feathers and a bunch of down feathers. 778
All parts of the object are reddened. This piece was used to brush patients.
At other times during the doctoring it was worn on the medicine-man's
clothing.

A man unsuccessful in winning a woman's love sometimes fasted on a 787
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Fig. 30 (50 1937). Doctor's Charm.
Length, 22 cm.

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787 mountain and asked the spirit that appeared to him for a love-medicine
832 which would bring him the woman. Soon after, she would come to him and
try to obtain his love, but usually he would reject her, for a time at least,
by way of revenge.

A young middle-aged man of the present time is noted for his love-medicine. He tells the following. He was once in love with a woman who only reviled him. For a long time this was on his mind. Constantly thinking of her harsh treatment of him, he fasted in a number of places, and finally received supernatural power. Then the woman came to him. She kissed him on the cheek; but he said, "You have abused me," and he made her go away. Four times she came to him; only the fourth time did he consent to gratify her wishes. Since that time, he has frequently used his medicine. His present wife was living with a white trader, where she had every comfort and great abundance; but by his medicine he made her leave the trader for him. His wife, it would appear, looks upon his powers without jealousy. He sells the use of his medicine to young men for two horses. His young son is crippled, so that he would have difficulty in winning women; but his father is keeping the medicine for him, so that he will be able to possess any woman he desires. The objects used include several medicine-plants. Some of these appear to be used to incense the man who is making the medicine. When a woman is unusually obdurate, wild parsnip (the root supposed to produce the peculiar state of mind of the crazy-dance) is employed by this man. When he begins to exert his influence on a woman, she becomes restless and usually excited. She leaves the tent frequently, and will cohabit with any man. When the influence of the medicine is removed, she remains faithful to her lover.

MEDICINES AND PLANTS.

278 The following medicines, consisting chiefly of plants, are almost wholly
758 family remedies, and, while no doubt also used by medicine-men, their
supposed effects are generally known, and not connected with any personal
supernatural experiences of the person using them. As the specimens were
secured in winter, it was impossible to obtain material for botanical identification.

Wanouwawöö ("wart-medicine"), a root, is used for stomach-ache (specimen Museum No. 50-1800).

A root called ahaa"tjiniqa" ("wood-like") is used for colic. This seems to be the root of a species of *Asclepias* (specimen Museum No. 50-1836).

A root called bausö ("red medicine," because it is reddish when fresh) is used for diarrhoea (specimen Museum No. 50-1914).

A plant called *hiyaa*¹ is used both as a perfume and as a medicine. 278
 Pieces of it tied by a string to the shoulder of the shirt give a pleasant smell. 757
 It is also laid in warm water without being boiled, and the water is then used
 as medicine for sore eyes (specimen Museum No. 50-1883).

In case of snow-blindness, charcoal is put around the eyes, and believed
 to be very efficacious.

The green stems of a plant containing a white juice are used for women
 who have no milk. The Arapaho use the same plant for a similar purpose,
 and call it "milk liquid."

A root called *hūstet* ("hand," on account of the peculiar conformation
 of the roots) is laid in very small quantity into cold water, which is drunk 844
 by women to insure easy child-birth (specimen Museum No. 50-1910).

The flowers of a composita called *nihuañanou* ("yellow-head") or
*tjitjixta*² *sibyiisō* are put on coals for a woman who has given birth. She
 stands above the fire to incense herself (specimen Museum No. 50-1914).

Another plant called *nihuañanou* ("yellow-head"), which grows close
 to the water, is boiled, and drunk for pain in the back or in the belly (speci-
 men Museum No. 50-1915).

A root called *nītasou* ("sharp") is pulverized, and then applied to sores
 in the mouth and on the tongue (specimen Museum No. 50-1838).

A rock lichen called *bennatsōn* is chewed for a sore mouth (specimen
 Museum No. 50-1871).

The root of *tyāyāniçā* is obtained from swampy land far to the north
 of the Gros Ventre habitat. The roots are soaked in water and the black
 portions removed. Then they are grated, mixed with water, and applied
 to the neck for sores (specimen Museum No. 50-1907).

A root called *kouh'ya*³ is chewed until a sticky paste results, which is
 applied to sores (specimen Museum No. 50-1919).

A fungus called *tsiādjiñā*⁴ is set on fire, and when glowing is applied to 752
 wounds or sores. It is also pulverized, and put on the gums of children
 when they are teething. It is said to grow on birch-trees, near the root
 (specimen Museum No. 50-1837).

The roots of *niitōō* are boiled and the water used to wash the part of the 752
 body which has been burned by the application of the glowing fungus
tsiādjiñā (specimen Museum No. 50-1850).

*Ihyaa*⁵ *tu*-leaves, which are also used as incense, are boiled in water.
 This is then applied to the body to allay pain (specimen Museum No. 50-
 1700). This medicine is the Arapaho *niibua*⁶ *tu* or *ibua*⁷ *tu* (fir or similar
 leaves), used both as incense² and as medicine.²

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part IV, p. 438.

² Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 32.

³ Ibid., Part IV, p. 426.

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757 Naⁿkasö ("white medicine") is a fungus growing high on pine-trees. It has a general use for any disease (specimen Museum No. 50-1798).

The leaves of kaⁿkadyikou, growing in the mountains, are boiled, and the tea used as medicine for various purposes (specimen Museum No. 50-1897).

[752] The bark of iinaaⁿsöniçou is either chewed in the native state, or boiled and drunk, for hemorrhages and pain in the back. The plant is said not to grow in the Gros Ventre country (specimen Museum No. 50-1943).

Tawaaⁿnasöö-root is used for pleurisy and heart-sickness. It is said to taste sweet. The root is either chewed, or boiled and drunk. This is the Arapaho hüçawannaxu, and is much used in the age-ceremonies of both tribes (specimen Museum No. 50-1855).

Juniper-berries (çääⁿtouwun) are a cure for asthma. They are either eaten entire, or they are pulverized and boiled, and the water drunk. The leaves, called "çääⁿtouwusöö," are mixed with the root, and then used as a remedy for hemorrhage. The leaves are also used by the doctors to incense themselves before they begin to doctor (specimen Museum No. 50-1854).

The root called niäätüⁿ, used by the Arapaho ceremonially and as an ingredient for incense, is employed by the Gros Ventre as a remedy for tuberculosis and hemorrhages. It is said not to be used as incense. The root is boiled before being used. It is eaten in the solid state, or a decoction of it is drunk (specimen Museum No. 50-1793).

The root of nawⁿasöö ("fish medicine") is eaten for colds (specimen Museum No. 50-1794).

Nütsiçaⁿ ("hollow root") is primarily a horse-medicine. It is given to horses to strengthen and refresh them. People also use a decoction of it as a remedy for colds (specimen Museum No. 50-1795).

Nihaⁿnisö ("yellow medicine") is used for colds. Either the root is eaten, or water in which it has been boiled is drunk (specimen Museum No. 50-1799).

A plant which grows north of the Gros Ventre country, and for which they appear to have no name, is used for colds and sore throat, a small quantity of the root being chewed (specimen Museum No. 50-1848).

A root called tawⁿhaaⁿ is obtained from other tribes. The plant is said not to grow in the Gros Ventre country. It is pounded and used as snuff in order to clear the head in case of cold or headache (specimen Museum No. 50-1797).

The stems and leaves of waasöwahaaⁿ, a sweet peppermint, are used for headache. The plant is also drunk as tea (specimen Museum No. 50-1791).

The root called wanaaⁿsübyaaⁿ ("smelling loud") is smoked in the pipe against headache (specimen Museum No. 50-1798).

A plant called *tyūñānou* is used as perfume, as a wash for the hair, and as a minor medicine. Bunches of the plant were used as perfume. A tea boiled of it is thought to make the hair grow while perfuming it. Such a tea is also poured into the nostrils as a remedy for headache (specimen Museum No. 50-1920). 278 757 [302]

Nūbyouūxtjin is used as perfume. The stems and leaves are chewed and applied to the body (specimen Museum No. 50-1853). [302]

Tsaa"sūbin is used as perfume. It is chewed, and rubbed on the hair (specimen Museum No. 50-1792).

One ingredient of incense is the callosity from the leg of a horse above the knee. This is cut up fine, and burned with sweet-grass. It is also worn on the body on a string.

Pine-nuts or other conifer-seeds are used for pemmican (specimen Museum No. 50-1913). 562 824

For embroidery, dark fibrous water-plants, at^ahin (the Arapaho *atahina*), are used (specimen Museum No. 50-1891).

Quills are dyed yellow with a solution from a conifer-lichen, no doubt the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, called *otsahaa*" (specimen Museum No. 50-1873). [386]

TRIBAL CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gros Ventre ceremonial organization is akin to that of the Arapaho with such differences as would be expected from the differences in language and the period of separation of the two tribes. The fundamental feature of this organization, the grouping of men by ages and the observance of a series of a half-dozen ceremonies in order according to age, is common to the two tribes. The ceremonies vary somewhat, and in a few cases their names or order have been changed; but among both tribes there are about six regular consecutive men's ceremonies, one or two that are preliminary or somewhat outside of this series, a single ceremony for women corresponding to those for men, and the sun-dance, which is included by the Indians in the enumeration of their grouped ceremonies, but differs from the others in not being connected with age, or with any society-like association of individuals. 561 796

Among the Gros Ventre the dancing-lodge for these ceremonies -- which is erected in the centre of the camp-circle, and, like this, opens to the east -- is constructed of two large tents. The lodge is open above, and appears to be oval or round in shape. The dancers, before beginning the ceremony, secure old men, who are called their "grandfathers," and are their instruct- 346 796

796 ors and directors through the dance. By these old men the dancers are painted in the dancing-lodge every morning during the ceremony. The dancers' wives take a more prominent part in the ceremonies among the Gros Ventre than among the Arapaho. They are painted at the same time as their husbands by his "grandfather." Every night during the ceremony there are certain observances between the "grandfathers" and the dancers' wives, who leave the camp-circle together in order that the women may receive medicine from the old men. This practice is much more developed among the Gros Ventre than among the Arapaho.

Whether there is in each dance a preparatory period in which the dancers' regalia are made and they are instructed in the ceremony by their "grandfathers," as among the Arapaho, is not clear in the case of the Gros Ventre. The dancing itself in all of the age-ceremonies goes on for four days,¹ and, in some cases, nights. On the last day the dancers leave the lodge, and [361] dance for gifts before the tents of prominent men at different places in the camp-circle. Immediately upon this the camp breaks. The dancers, with the property they have received in gifts, go in advance, and lay the presents on the ground. The camp comes up in a body and makes a rush; the property is seized and divided. The dancers form in a circle, and at the conclusion of four dances rush off to race. On their return the ceremony is ended. Only in the case of the crazy-dance do these ceremonies of the fourth day appear to take place without the camp-circle having been broken; [786] and for four days thereafter the camp remains in position, giving the participants in the ceremony opportunity for the license which is a part of this dance.

All the ceremonies, including the sun-dance and the women's dance, are made as the result of the pledge of an individual in the hope of deliverance from death or danger, either of himself or of a relative. If a member of a company of men who are of the proper age to make the crazy-dance has a relative whom he loves, and whose death from sickness is feared, he may say, "Such and such an old man (naming him) shall put up the crazy-lodge for me this summer." If the sick person dies, the dance is not held. Sometimes a person who is ill himself pledges to make the dance on his recovery. The pledger of any dance is called *ye'nouhuxtj*¹ (Arapaho, *ya'nahūt*). A man in danger in war, or one who has been wounded, may also pledge the dance. The time for the dances is apparently summer. For the sun-dance, spring or early summer, when the trees are full leaved, is specified; and it is added that sometimes, after the pledge is given, the [616] people have to wait all winter to make the ceremony. In the case of the crazy-dance, it is stated that two divisions of the young men of the tribe,

¹ Probably to be interpreted as three nights and three days.

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each of which has a ceremony of its own rivalling that of the other (respectively the war-dance and the star-dance), compete in a horse-race, with the agreement that the beaten party is to put up the crazy-lodge. It does not seem that this is a common procedure. 796
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The Gros Ventre abandoned their dances much earlier than the Arapaho, and almost nothing of the organization remains now, except a memory. It is somewhat difficult to procure precise details of the procedure, especially in the older dances. In great part, the regalia used have also perished, and it has been possible to secure only a very few pieces. These show, as do the descriptions given by the Indians, that the objects and decorations used are quite similar to those of the Arapaho. The distinction of several degrees purely of honor within each ceremony, which is so characteristic of the Arapaho age-dances, is also found in the Gros Ventre, though it seems that the distinctions made and the number of degrees are not quite so elaborate. This is evidenced, not only by the fact that few degrees are described by the Gros Ventre, a fact which might be due to their longer disuse of the ceremonies, but also by circumstances such as the one that certain regalia, which in the Arapaho dog-dance are worn only by the members of the second and third highest degrees, are among the Gros Ventre the common regalia of all participants; only the highest degree of the Arapaho being retained by the Gros Ventre as distinct. 796
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The Gros Ventre call their entire ceremonial organizations *benaa"wu*, a dialectic form of the Arapaho *bayaa"wu*, and, like it, probably meaning "all the lodges." The members of the age-societies are called *benimen*, commonly translated at the present day as "soldiers," etymologically probably "all-men," or "all-(?)-men." 796
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The ceremonies of the Gros Ventre *benaa"wu*, with the age-dances given in order from youth to old age, are the following:—

<i>Açeiha"wu</i>	Sacrifice-lodge, ¹ sun-dance
<i>Nôuhâ"wu</i>	Star-dance, partial preliminary
<i>Hahu"tyâ"wu</i>	Fly-lodge, first dance
<i>Nôuhâ"wu</i>	Crazy-lodge, second dance
<i>Hotibya"wu</i>	Kit-fox lodge, third dance
<i>Nanâ"nahâ"wu</i>	Dog-lodge, fourth dance
<i>Bitahâ"wu</i>	Tomahawk-lodge, fifth dance
	Drum (?) lodge, sixth (?) dance
<i>Benuxteâ"wu</i>	Buffalo(?) dance, women's dance.

The members of these successive age-ceremonies are called respectively

¹ Once translated "looked-at-lodge."

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hotohuûu, nõubûn, hahâⁿtyänen, nõuhunen, hotibyl, nanâⁿnâhû^{ts} or perhaps hiityaâⁿsûts, biitaxiânen; or "stars," "flies," "crazy-men," "kit-fox men," "dogs," "soldiers" or "having-war-spikes," and "drum (?) men."

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Aside from changes in the order of the ceremonies, of which there are several, the chief known differences between this progressive dance-series of the Gros Ventre and that of the Arapaho are two. One of these differences is, that the first dance of the Gros Ventre is the fly-dance, which the Arapaho lack altogether. The second difference is, that the fifth dance of the Gros Ventre, the nanaⁿnâhû^{wu}, seems to combine the characteristics of the corresponding Arapaho dance (the hinanahû^{wu} or fifth) and of the first dance (the Arapaho hiiteciâxû^{wu}). In its name, its place in the series, and the age of its dancers, the Gros Ventre fifth ceremony agrees with the similarly named Arapaho fifth ceremony; but in the use of war-club-like implements carried by the dancers, and in the symbolic connection of the dance with the buffalo, there is an agreement with the Arapaho first dance. This first dance of the Arapaho is not represented by a separate ceremony among the Gros Ventre. A third possible difference between the two systems is, that no information was obtained regarding any Gros Ventre lodge corresponding to the oldest men's sweat-house among the Arapaho; but it is not unlikely that something similar formerly existed.

The several changes in order of the dances between the two tribes imply something more than mere change of position in the series. For instance, the displacing of the kit-fox lodge and of the biitahû^{wu}, both of which are early ceremonies in the Arapaho and late ones among the Gros Ventre, involves a change of the age of the participants, and therefore necessarily, in some degree, of the character of the ceremony itself, since, the greater the age of the participants in the ceremony, the more sacred it is.

The following comparison shows the respective places of each ceremony in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre ceremonial series.

CEREMONY.	ARAPAHO.	GROS VENTRE.
Sun-dance	Men of any age	Men of any age
Kit-fox lodge	First preliminary	Third dance
Star-dance	Second preliminary	Outside of regular series
Fly-lodge	Lacking	First dance
Hiiteciâxû ^{wu}	First dance	Lacking (see Hinanahû ^{wu})
Biitahû ^{wu}	Second dance	Probably sixth dance
Crazy-lodge	Third dance	Second dance
Dog-lodge	Fourth dance	Fourth dance
Hinanahû ^{wu}	Fifth dance	Fifth dance
Seven old men	Sixth ceremony	Lacking?
Banuxta ^{wu}	Women's dance	Women's dance

The place of the biitaha^{wu} is not certain, as no informants were found who would positively express themselves on this matter. It is universally regarded as having been the most sacred and most dangerous of all the ceremonies, these qualities being thought to have led to its abandonment before any of the other dances. It can probably be concluded from this that it was last in the series, and performed by the oldest men. 171 796

As among the Arapaho, but somewhat more clearly, each dance refers symbolically to a certain animal. This symbolism is as follows. 171 796

The fly-dance takes its name from flies or mosquitoes, and was given or instituted by a mosquito. During part of the ceremony the dancers imitate the actions of mosquitoes. 825

The crazy-dance has comparatively little reference to any animal. The participants, however, wear anklets of badger-skin, and an entire badger-skin is used in ceremonies at the time of starting the dancing.

The kit-fox lodge was given by the kit-foxes, and a kit-fox skin is used somewhat analogously to the badger-skin in the crazy-dance.

In the dog-dance the dancers of highest degree represent shaggy dogs. It is also said that the participants in the ceremony largely eat dogs during its course. Among the Arapaho a dog is said to have instituted this lodge, and the Gros Ventre have a similar myth. [262]

In the naha^{wu} the dancers sing for the buffalo, and it is said that they always succeed in causing them to appear near the camp. Among the Arapaho the dancers represent both buffalo and prairie-chickens. The symbolic reference to prairie-chickens among the Gros Ventre is found in their sun-dance; their equivalent of the Arapaho rabbit-tent in this ceremony being called "prairie-chicken tent," and the singers in it "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-hens."

The biitaha^{wu}, as among the Arapaho, has connection with thunder. The dancers are painted over the body with dots which represent hail. If one of them violates the regulations of the dance, it is thought that it will begin to rain and that the offender may be struck by lightning. The Gros Ventre have an additional symbolic connection of their sun-dance with thunder, which is not strictly paralleled among the Arapaho. [302] [821]

The women in their dance among both tribes represent buffalo, and the actions gone through in this ceremony are in both tribes probably more directly imitative of the animals symbolized than in any of the men's ceremonies.

What has been said about the Arapaho in regard to the relation of the entire ceremonial organization to the lives of the men of the tribe, and in regard to the relative importance of the religious, military, and social functions of the age-companies constituting the organization, appears to apply 171 796 561

171 equally to the Gros Ventre. The Gros Ventre, however, used a method of
796 organization as regards the performance of the age-ceremonies of which
561 nothing was heard among the Arapaho. The men of the tribe of age to
make any one ceremony were not all in one society or company, but in
several; the total number of the companies being three or four times as
great as the number of ceremonies. Each of these companies had a name,
which it retained throughout its existence, irrespective of the dance it had
last performed; and each held its ceremonies without participating in those
of any other company. It seems that, when one of these companies had
made all the dances, the surviving old men grouped together the available
young men in the tribe, and formed them into a new company of the same
name. With this organization it was possible for each ceremony to be per-
formed in the tribe much more frequently than if all those of an age and
previous ceremonial experience entitling them to make a certain dance had
performed this together, as appears to have been the case among the Arapa-
aho; or the ceremony could be given at short intervals without involving
the repetition of it for a considerable number of times by the same body of
men. The Gros Ventre companies could and did repeat the ceremonies,
especially the earlier ones, but do not seem to have done so more than once
or twice.

561 The names of these companies resembled nicknames, and for the most
796 part had a character not very different from the clan names in use among
the Gros Ventre and other Plains tribes, in which a certain humorous or
derisive element prevails. The following are the companies whose names
were obtained:

Green-grass, wanogetyl
Young-sheep, wnotel
Small-horses, tsuaregihyl
Rose-bushes, yaaniise
Calves (of leg), liisitsan
Sleeping-on-the-bust-of-a-woman, li-
temuak'katsaulei
Grass-in-their-pockets, wasoon tinaay-
huts
Big-bellies, tjiitakts
White-horns, nanak'senitakts
White-backs, nanak'setakts
Men-across-the-river, harsoitjanen
Different-from-beninen, karsobenil-
nen

Ugly-dogs, wasu'tihyl
Seed-necklaces, hity'lisotyā
Having-back-fat, hiinanlihits
White-noses, nanak'sobakts
Eat-enough-to-last-over-night, itemo-
lakts
Having-dogs'-tails, hotihyl naninau-
nakts
White-blankets, nanak'sobakts
Fur-wrapped-wands, hilibakts
Red-horns, wanan'sonitakts
(? Stars, hotohuñu)
(? Feathered-sword-wands, likokouut)
(? Having-spikes, hiitjañasakts)

The list is probably not complete, as, with the disuse of the ceremonies,
the formation of these companies has been discontinued for some time.

It seems impossible to tell at present whether these and the additional ones that there may have been, all existed contemporaneously, or whether some grew up as others died out. The last few named are doubtful as true companies. The Indians sometimes include the dances themselves among these companies, calling their members "flies," "dogs," "kit-fox men," and so on. This is, of course, a cross-division, as each of the numerous companies in turn makes, for instance, the fly-dance. During and after the ceremony its members are called "flies," as well as by the name of their company. As there is a star-dance, it is therefore possible that there was no true star company. The sword-wands and war-spikes are also somewhat doubtful. These names refer to objects used as regalia in the Arapaho first dance and in part in the Gros Ventre fifth dance. The participants in the Gros Ventre fifth dance, it seems, were also called by the latter name. It is therefore probable that these two names refer to dances and not to real companies.

The companies held together, to a certain extent, outside of their dances. They were likely to act together in war, and there was a spirit of rivalry between them. In the sun-dance, and possibly on other ceremonial occasions, the younger men of the tribe took part in certain actions by companies.

The following specific statements of the ceremonial experiences of a few of the old men of the tribe alive in 1901 will make the general scheme of the organization more concrete.

A man known as Bill Jones, reputed to be the oldest man in the tribe, belonged to the "big-belly" company. Of this, only one other member survived at that date. He himself had been keeper of one of the sacred pipes; and he and his "big-belly" companion, together with the five survivors of the next oldest company, were spoken of as the seven oldest men of the tribe. As all the Gros Ventre ceremonies have been discontinued, it is not possible to deduce from this statement with certainty that these seven men would in former times have constituted a definite body with distinct ceremonial powers and observances, like the Arapaho water-sprinkling old men. This man had made the fly-dance, the crazy-dance twice, the kit-fox dance twice, the dog-dance, and the nana"naha"wu. He had not made the bita-ha"wu. Younger men than himself have seen this; but it appears to have been abandoned some time before he became of age to take part in it. He had made the star-dance before the fly-dance. He had also taken the part of the man who shoots a buffalo (in the women's dance?).

Bull-Robe, now dead, a renowned warrior, belonged to the next age-company, "those-who-eat-to-last-all-night." He had made the fly-dance, the crazy-dance, the kit-fox dance, and the dog-dance. The nana"naha"wu seems to have been discontinued before he reached it. In the first three of his dances he was one of the leaders, or recipients of special degrees.

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159 Subsequently he was a "grandfather" in the crazy-dance, but in none of
 561 the other ceremonies. He never participated in the sun-dance, having had
 796 no occasion to do so, he said. Nevertheless he once was the man selected
 during the sun-dance to kill a buffalo with one arrow, the buffalo's skin
 being cut up into thongs with which the rafters of the lodge are fastened.
 He succeeded in killing the buffalo with one arrow.

Another man, now middle-aged, belonged to the "holding-to-a-dog's-
 tail" company. He made successively the fly-dance, the star-dance, and
 then the crazy-dance.

STAR AND WAR DANCES.

171 At present the organization into comparatively small companies is no
 561 longer maintained. In its place there is a division of the young men of the
 796 tribe into two groups, one of which practises, or did until recently, the star-
 575 dance; the other, the grass or war dance. The latter is universally stated
 [177] to be a recent importation from the Sioux, apparently within the present
 generation. The star-dance, however, is an old ceremony, it is claimed;
 and this assertion is borne out by the occurrence among the Arapaho of the
 analogous star-dance. Among the Arapaho the star-dance, like the kit-
 fox dance, is a preliminary which appears to be gone through by all the men
 of the tribe, but has neither the standing, the organization, nor the definite
 observances and regalia of the subsequent ceremonies. Among the Gros
 Ventre the star-dance was formerly also outside the regular series of dances.
 It is generally spoken of as having been a warrior dance, made at any time
 and on any suitable occasion, and without the rigorously prescribed course
 of other dances. Some men seem to have made it before the fly-dance, and
 others afterward. Even in former times, however, before the war-dance
 had come among the Gros Ventre, the star-dance included only part of the
 young men of the tribe. The old men surviving from certain companies
 have never taken part in the star-dance, and explain this by the fact that
 there was rivalry between their company and the star-dancers. It might
 thus, perhaps, seem that a star company had a ceremony of its own, the star-
 dance, from which the members of rival companies naturally held aloof;
 but it is very improbable that only one age-company parallel to the others,
 and none of these others, should have had a distinctive ceremony. It is
 also improbable that this company, being one of many, should have been
 so large as to include about half of the men of the tribe, for it appears that
 some such large proportion took part in the star-dance. This makes it
 almost impossible to believe that there existed a star company exactly

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analogous to the "green-grass" and "young-sheep" and other companies, 171
 but having an additional ceremony confined to itself. On the other hand, 561
 if the "stars" were not one of the age-companies, it is hard to see with what 595
 groups of men they competed. It is therefore not improbable that there 796
 formerly existed among the Gros Ventre a star-society, which had a cere-
 mony of its own, and which, while based partly on age in being constituted
 of young men, was outside and independent of the scheme of the *benua*"wu,
 with which it had no, or only indirect, relation, and with whose working out
 it must in some measure have conflicted. Such a society, which would be
 a true society in being based on a membership determined by choice, pur-
 chase, initiation, or supernatural experience, - in other words, by selection,
 would be of a type of organization quite distinct from the ordinary Gros
 Ventre or Arapaho age-company performing in the course of its existence
 an entire series of tribal ceremonies, but would have abundant parallels
 in other ceremonial societies on the Plains and elsewhere. Its presence
 would therefore be readily explainable as an incipient intrusion due to the
 cultural influence of some other tribe, the chief objection to such an explana-
 tion being the occurrence of the star-dance also among the Arapaho, but
 without a known association with a special society. This suggested charac-
 ter of the Gros Ventre star-society and star-dance fits the facts, but is after
 all only hypothetical; and altogether the relation of the ceremony to the
 remainder of the Gros Ventre ceremonial organizations is not yet clear.

The star-dance as formerly held is said to have lasted four days and 796
 nights. There might be further subsequent dancing. At the beginning of
 the ceremony, the dancers went to four places at the camp-circle facing or
 representing the four cardinal directions, and at each place danced before
 the tent of a prominent man. The owner of the tent gave away property
 and filled a pipe for the dancers, after smoking which they proceeded to the
 next one. After having danced in the four places, they danced in the middle
 of the camp-circle. This might be in the open air, or in a lodge made of two
 large tents combined. The singers were four old men, who accompanied
 themselves on small hand drums. The dancers' wives sat behind these
 four old men and sang with them. The dancer's relatives at times went
 to them and danced with them, taking their rattles and temporarily using [302]
 them. The dancers' bodies seem to have been variously decorated; but they [534]
 had no distinctive regalia except rattles. These were alike in general char-
 acter, being loop-shaped, and decorated with gaudy paint and attachments,
 but there seems to have been no attempt at making them uniform. The
 dancing-lodge was elliptical, with the door towards the east and a fire near
 the western end. The singers were at this end, and the dancers near them,
 in two lines, along the sides of the lodge, facing each other. In dancing

796 they did not stay in one place, but at times moved about. They shook their rattles constantly. They did not sing, but uttered a pressed-out "Hah." Two *atsaan* (assistants or servants of the dance) attended near the door. [624] They brought back such of the dancers as became exhausted from lack of sleep and left the ceremony. Two men who had fought and struck a mounted enemy while they themselves were mounted, rode on horseback. When they went to dance, the assistants went to them and helped them dismount. If the dancers were inactive, these two men went about among them to make them arise. If the dancers remained on the ground, they struck them with their whips. The spectators outside lifted up the bottom of the tent and looked underneath; or, as the tent was not very high (the lodge being roofless), those who were on horseback looked over it.

534 The Gros Ventre star-rattles consist of a tube of rawhide, an inch or 293 less in diameter, bent on itself into a hoop three or four inches across, and attached to a stick handle half a foot or more in length. Apparently one end of the tube projects out from the hoop forming the head of the rattle, sufficiently to allow the stick to be inserted. The rawhide is painted, and ornamented with three or five bunches of feathers. The handle is wrapped with cloth, the upper end of which usually is cut into a small fringe at the base of the head of the rattle, while the lower end hangs free beyond the handle. The general outline of the rattle is similar to the Arapaho star-rattle, this having a round or kite-shaped flat head at the end of the handle. The hoop feature is, however, wanting in the Arapaho rattles, which [531] are without a perforation. The Gros Ventre decorations of their rattles - whether feathers, cloth attachments, or painting - are usually crude and gaudy. It seems that the rattles now in use are a degenerate modern form. [177] In the majority of cases the feathers attached are dyed: some are cut from the quill. This indicates a recent modifying influence. Many of the feathers are cut off transversely. This may or may not be an old feature. The piece shown in Fig. 31 has least of the base qualities of these rattles, and is a probable approximation to the older type.

Of some of the specimens to be seen in the Museum, descriptions are here given.

Fig. 31 (50-1783). Handle covered with red flannel, which hangs below the handle about two feet. Fringe of same at base of head, and same forms periphery of head. Rawhide of head painted blue, red on inside of loop. A string appears to have been wound around the head while the hide was fresh, and removed after the painting, leaving radiating white depressions. Head ornamented at top and sides with three bunches of four black-and-white, squarish, half-downy feathers attached by thongs. At the top there is also an eagle-feather. Handle wound with thong, forming at the end a loop to pass over the wrist. The head of this rattle was said to represent a star.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1767 has a small rough head and a crooked handle; Handle wound with blue cotton cloth. Two strips of green cloth hang from the end of the handle. No fringe at the base of the head. Head painted yellow-green; on this, eight red spots centred with yellow and bordered with green; on the opposite side, five green spots bordered by red. Three bunches of feathers. Feathers at top, — one eagle; several smaller, dyed violet-blue and yellow, cut off or slit from quill. Two bunches at sides, yellow-dyed and chicken feathers. Places at periphery for the attachment of other bunches.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1806. Handle short, scarcely six inches; head forming a large even circle nearly four inches across. Handle wrapped with blue woollen cloth, chiefly covered by the winding of a red-painted thing; free end of blue cloth more than a foot long. Fringe of three or four pieces of the same cloth at base of head. Head painted over red. Feathers attached in three places, all cut off across, and dyed violet. Two are attached at top, one on each side.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1807. Handle about six inches, head scarcely three. Rawhide covers the stick nearly to end. Two upper inches of covering exposed; below this, handle covered over rawhide with dark-blue cloth; short fringe above; fringe of several strips, about one foot long, below. All rawhide painted yellow; on each side of head, a red line; inside of hoop, about eight blue spots; periphery, blue. Feathers in five places. Top, eagle-feather, white portion reddened, yellow-green stripe on black along quill; three green-dyed cut-off feathers. At each side, below, one or two yellow-dyed cut-off feathers. On each side, still farther below, two or three similar feathers dyed green.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1808 is similar to the last in several details, and was obtained from the same person. Size a little larger than last. Extent and painting of rawhide the same. Handle completely covered with winding of red cotton cloth; no fringe above, two short ends below. At top, bunch of fifteen yellow-dyed feathers cut off very short; on each side, bunch of four (in one case, two) feathers dyed green; the upper portions of quills cut out, the vanes more complete.

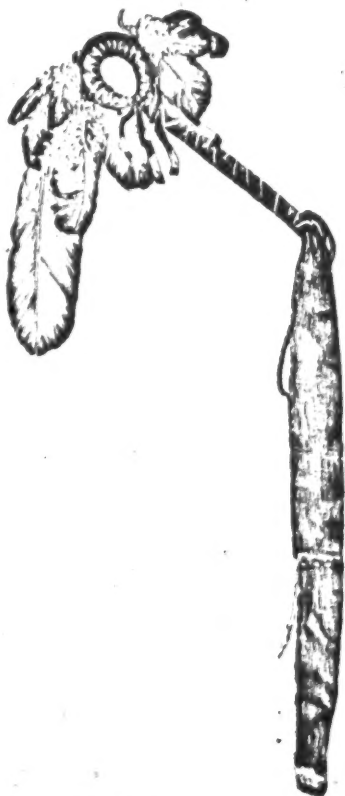


Fig. 31 (50-1763). Star-dance Rattle. Length of hoop and handle, 30 cm.

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The large amount of individual variation within the limits of the general type characterizing these rattles occurs apparently also among the Arapaho star-rattles.

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In the war-dance as it was held when first introduced, there were two men who had wands representing swords, and several wearing the familiar belts of crow-feathers with tails falling behind and projections at the lower part of the back. As among the Arapaho, these belts are referred to the crow. A drum was used, made of a cottonwood board or slab bent into a circle, covered both above and below with horse-skin, and hung on four sticks. Four drumsticks went with it, one of which belonged to the owner of the drum, the three others to three different individuals. The sides of the drum were covered, half with red cloth and half with blue, and the skin was painted half blue and half yellow. When the men who owned the swords, the crow-belts, and the drum, gave these away, which they generally did at the same time, a dance was held. The new owners, in turn, by giving the objects to their successors, would furnish the occasion for another performance of the dance.

[43]

The war-dancers dressed quite variously. Some wore skunk-skin strips around the leg below the knee, beaded, and with small bells attached. Some wore similar strips around the head. Others had the well-known upright head-dress of deer-tail hair. Some carried fans of eagle-tails; some, whips; some, painted sticks with attached feathers. The dancing went on in a lodge similar to that of the star-dancers. The owner of the drum had his tent near this lodge in the middle of the camp-circle, and the members of the dance went to him to eat. If the head man of the star-dancers was popular, he was asked by the rival war-company to pitch his tent in the middle of the camp-circle, near the owner of the war-dance drum. There are said to have been no assistants in this ceremony, nor any old men as singers; but four of the wives of the dancers were selected to sing. The two men with swords (kakaat) had functions similar to those of the two mounted men with whips in the star-dance. They urged the laggard dancers to get up, and, if they fell down, struck them with their wands. If the man thus struck bore the blow like a man, as the Indians call it, the sword-bearer made him a present; but if he became angry he received nothing, and appears to have been looked upon with ridicule or contempt.

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The war-dance as at present given is different from the form described. It is no longer a young men's dance, nor confined to a certain group. All the people of the tribe take part in it. It is very similar in general character to the present-day Arapaho crow-dance, as well as in the place it occupies in the life of the people. Among the Gros Ventre it is now the only dance held.

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Recently these two bodies of young men performing respectively the star-dance and the war-dance have supplanted entirely the older, more numerous age-companies. In late years they have taken the place of the age-companies in the ceremonies connected with the erection of the sun-dance lodge. There was then considerable rivalry between them, and it is said that a member of either company who should take part with the other would be abused by his companions, and perhaps have his clothes torn. Recently also the two groups have had certain social functions, which among most Plains tribes are in the hands of tribal bodies or societies. They had charge of the moving of the camp-circle and of locating it. If a man disapproved of their selection, or pitched his tent elsewhere than they directed, they overturned it, and perhaps destroyed his property or killed his horses. If buffalo were seen and others than themselves went ahead and killed them, these two companies cut both the meat and the skin of such game into small pieces.

THE FLY-DANCE.

The fly-dance (nouba^w), the first of the dances, seems to have been regarded in some ways as preliminary to the series, rather than part of it, somewhat like the Arapaho kit-fox and star dances. The dancers were called noubin ("flies"). They were young men, sometimes described as boys. Apparently they were of an age where many or all of them were still unmarried, for no mention of their wives participating in the ceremony is made. The duration of the dance is not quite sure. It is said, like all the other ceremonies, to have continued four days; but another informant gave one day as the length of the ceremony. It is not clear whether or not a lodge was erected for the ceremony. In any case, however, the dance was performed outside of the camp-circle. A prominent feature seems to have been the food cooked by the relatives of the young dancers, and brought to the dancing-place. In distinction from what occurred in the other dances, "grandfathers" were secured very easily for this ceremony, which goes to show the light regard in which it was held by the elder men. The old men of the tribe are said to have gone out to the dancing-place, and, on being selected by groups of dancers as "grandfathers," to have accepted at once.

The dancing went on during the day. The dancers were practically naked; and their entire body, as customary in Arapaho and Gros Ventre ceremonies, was painted over. A common style of painting, or perhaps the characteristic one of the dance, was red, with a white stripe on the face and another on the belly. The pledger of the dance (yenouhuxtj¹; Arapaho, yanahut²) was painted yellow, with corresponding black stripes. After the

796 painting, an old man took the lead, followed by the pledger, and he by the dancers in file. All the dancers carried small hoops ornamented with quill-embroidery and with small feathers. These hoops were carried on sticks. When the old man stopped, the dancers gathered in a circle about him to dance. They took hold of the corners of their robes, and flapped them like wings, buzzing and humming like mosquitoes. After they had

done this four times, they lay on the ground on their faces. Beyond the small hoops there seem to have been no regalia. There were also neither whistles, rattles, nor drums used, except that the "grandfathers" each had a leafy branch (as of willow, cottonwood, or cherry), which they shook, rustling it in time to the singing.

Towards evening the dancers went to one side of the camp-circle, but

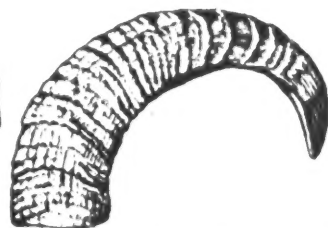


FIG. 32 (50-1839). Fly-dance Horn. Length, 18 cm.

still outside of it. There they danced. Going west of the camp-circle, they danced there, then to the side opposite to that where they had begun, and finally to the east or opening of the camp. When they had danced four times here, all the people had retired to their tents for the night, and all outdoor work had been done. The dancers immediately started out in all directions, looking for people. If they saw any one, they pursued him until they overtook him. They carried cactus-

spines and sharp claws, with which they pricked him. If he succeeded in reaching a tent, they walked around outside, pelting the tent with pebbles. It is said that if the person attacked fanned himself, as he would for flies, the dancers would not sting him. In all their actions in this part of the ceremony, the dancers seem to have imitated flies or mosquitoes. Going about among the tents, they also took meat hanging outside, cooked it, and ate their fill. They also played and ran races until they were tired.

797 As to the origin of the dance, it is said that once an old man was asleep, when he dreamed this dance. The fly that gave him the ceremony was a mosquito. It directed him to institute the dance, and showed him how it should be conducted.

Fig. 32 shows a small mountain-goat horn, painted over red, used in this dance as one of the implements for pricking or scratching.

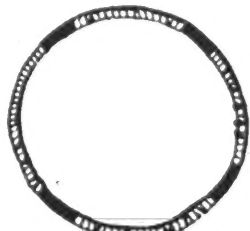


Fig. 33 (50-1936 a). Fly-dance Hoop. Diameter, 8 cm.

1908.]

Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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Fig. 33 shows one of the small quill-wrapped hoops carried on a stick in the fly-dance. It is about three inches across, and lacks the feathers once attached to it. The hoop is not continuous, but consists of four slightly curved sticks. Each of these is wound with yellow quills, and in the middle with black (really dark-brown) fibres. The quill-wrapping encloses a sinew strand, which passes from one stick to the other, holding them together into a flexible, somewhat four-cornered hoop. At each of the four dark marks an eagle-plume was formerly attached, and in addition an eagle-feather (specimen Museum No. 50 1936b) was hung from the hoop. This hoop was made, for the man from whom it was obtained, at the time he took part in the fly-dance.

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THE CRAZY-DANCE.

The second ceremony, the crazy-dance, corresponds pretty closely to the Arapaho crazy-dance. When it was summer, and the time came to make the ceremony in fulfilment of the pledge previously given, the different bands of the tribe gathered in a single camp-circle. Certain men, leaving this camp, then went out to select a suitable site for the dance. When they had found this, the camp started for the place, while they made piles of buffalo-chips in a circle, indicating the place for the camp. The company about to make the ceremony gathered at night, and, taking a pipe of black stone, went stealthily to the tent of an old man whom they had selected to put up the lodge (that is, direct the ceremony) for them. They entered his tent while he was sleeping, woke him, and handed him the pipe. When he signified his acceptance by taking it, they kissed him in thanks, and made him presents. After he had smoked the pipe, he told them to obtain "grandfathers," which they did.

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When the preparations had begun to be made, crows and owls were killed by the dancers, because they used their feathers. The dancers' regalia consisted of anklets of badgers-skin and of quill-embroidered leggings, to both of which four crow-feathers and buffalo-fetlocks, or antelope-hoofs, were attached as ornaments and rattles. Around the head they wore a narrow strip of skin embroidered with quill-work, to which an owl's head was tied on one side. Around their necks hung another quill-embroidered thong, at the end of which was a whistle of eagle-wing bone. A buffalo robe painted red was worn. A round hole was cut in this through which the head was put, so that the dancers did not have to hold the garment in place. The piece cut out for the head was not entirely detached, but left hanging down the back. Two long streamers of skin hung down the back

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796 from this part of the robe. At the end of each of these, a bunch of owl-feathers, or rather a piece of owl-skin, was attached. The dancers carried bows, to each end of which seven crow-feathers were tied. Down was fastened to the bowstring at several places. At the handle of the bow a strip of bear-skin, owl-feathers, and some sage were fastened with a buck-skin thong. Four arrows accompanied each bow. One had a metal point, which subsequently was made more effective by medicine. The three other arrows were blunt, or had wooden points that had been chewed soft so as to be harmless.

411 The pledger, and three other men called "brothers" (hināhābiitou), who sat apart from the other dancers in the lodge and acted somewhat differently on certain occasions, had bows that were unornamented, except for the down on the string. These four men wore their robes turned so that the hair was outside, whereas the other dancers wore the dressed side out.

302 All the dancers were painted entirely red. Their hair was daubed with white paint. They stopped the left ear with a mushroom, such as was used for tinder, and put paint (apparently white) over the ear and the entire left side of the face.

824 Four young men who would be good workers were selected to be the assistants or servants (atsuan) of this company. They brought wood and water, and performed other services.

346 The lodge for this dance is described as having been made of travois or tent poles about which tent-skins were drawn. It was open to the east. There was a fire about in the centre. Facing the opening of the lodge was a small partial enclosure or screen constructed on dog-travois. In this were the pledger and his three companions, the "brothers." The dancers are said to have occupied the northern half of the wall in the dancing-lodge; the "grandfathers," behind whom sat the dancers' wives, the southern half. As among the Arapaho, the dancers were divided into two sections; the tall men toward the rear and the short men toward the front, of the lodge. These two divisions competed against each other in the races to follow. The dancers' bows were stood up in the ground in a row just beyond the fire.

302 During the four days of the dance, the dancers, every morning before sunrise, went to their "grandfathers" to be painted. Apparently they went to their "grandfathers'" tents, and not to the dancing-lodge, for this purpose. The dancers' wives went with them. They were naked, and were painted too. No one but the "grandfather" looked at them. Before being painted, the dancers made incense of sage-leaves on burning charcoal. They also rubbed their bodies with fragrant fir or balsam leaves
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Crushed and mixed with fat.

crushed and mixed with fat. When the painting was completed, food⁷⁹⁶ from the young men's parents was brought to the old men. The old men also presented their "grandsons" with food. The food was then eaten. During the day the dancers and their "grandfathers" were in the dancing-lodge. In connection with the beginning of the dancing, a badger-skin was used. This was entirely wrapped, except at the head, in a flat rope of rawhide, half of which (one side?) was painted red, the other half black. This skin lay on the ground before the pledger of the dance, in or in front of his small enclosure, with the head toward the east. Glowing charcoal was laid before the row of bows, and sweet-grass (*miasö*; Arapaho, *niox*) was put on the coals to incense the bows. The pledger, rising, took the badger-skin, and, holding it with the head pointing forward, walked slowly around the inside of the lodge, and then to the smouldering incense, over which he made four passes with the skin; then returning to his enclosure, he laid the badger-skin on the ground. Taking out a stick tied in with the skin, he struck the skin as hard as he could. At this, a singer at the middle of the back or western end of the lodge - who held a stick as high as a man, wrapped with buckskin, and with buffalo or antelope hoofs hanging along its length - struck the end on the ground, thus beginning the rattling that accompanied the singing. The old men began to sing, while the dancers simultaneously blew their whistles, and cried "Yaa!" The old men stood up and sang, and the dancers went to them, each of them to his "grandfather," usually three or four to one old man. The old men then drilled them, showing them how to dance and how to handle their bows and their robes. It seems that the dancers stood at the opening of the lodge, somewhat on the south. After dancing to four songs, during which they whistled and at the end of each of which they cried "Yaa," they dashed off in a race around a monument that had been erected at some distance to the southeast. If one of the division of tall men returned to the lodge first and thus won the race for his side, the short men filled pipes for the tall men and presented them to them to smoke, and, of course, *vice versa*.<sup>[778]
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After the cessation of the dancing, and when it was dark, old men cried out to the people to retire to their tents, the dancers' wives being about to go out with the "grandfathers." As the women went out, the dancers stood in the lodge in a circle, singing loudly and shouting in conclusion. The "grandfathers" went to the north of the camp-circle, where they stood in a row. Their "grand-daughters," that is to say, the dancers' wives, each carrying a pipe, followed them, and stood behind them. They addressed their "grandfathers," praying them to take the pipe and smoke it. After much persuasion, the old man accepted the pipe. Then the woman prayed to him again, asking him to pray in her behalf, that she might be^[533]

796 successful and happy in this world, in acquiring wealth and in living a long life. Then the old man pointed the pipe east, south, west, north, and up, lit it, and smoked it. Then wiping it, and dropping the ashes out of it, he held the pipe up toward the sky, and prayed for his "grand-daughter," then laid it on the ground. The woman was naked, except for her robe. She then begged the old man to give her the medicine called *tawaanasöö* (the Arapaho *hāwawaanaxu*). It is said that sometimes the old man gave her none, but undoubtedly it was customary for him to give it to her. Only a small piece was used.

[597] After this the women returned to the dancing-lodge, where their husbands were waiting for them. They did not go together, but singly. A boy or young man had been selected to stand outside the door, and watch for the women returning. As a woman came near enough to be recognized, he called into the lodge that she was coming, whereupon the dancers came out. Her husband and all the others kissed her. Her husband kissed the "grandfather" also. One by one the other women came back, and were received in the same way. If the woman had received medicine, she gave half to her husband. He chewed it up, and then rubbed himself over his body with it.

For four nights this appears to have been done. On all but the last night, it is said, that, on the return of the women, they and their husbands left the lodge and returned to their tents to sleep, to be painted again next morning. The last night, after the women and their "grandfathers" had returned, the old men picked out from the row of bows their "grandsons," and, standing north and south of the fire, danced, holding the bows; their "grandsons" meanwhile dancing with them, but the women sitting in their places.

These observances connected with the giving of medicine by the "grandfathers" to the dancers' wives are found, without essential modification, in the three following dances, as well as in this. It will be seen that they are considerably more developed than the corresponding practices among the Arapaho.¹

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171] ¹ In the Arapaho crazy and dog dances the procedure is not carried quite so far. Dorsey has described almost the same practice as occurring in the Arapaho sun-dance. What takes place on this occasion in the Arapaho crazy and dog dances has been summarized in Vol. XVIII, pp. 193, 200, of the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*. The following somewhat more precise account is appended for comparison with the Gros Ventre. The "grandfather" and the dancer's wife (who is naked, except, presumably, for a robe) go off. As or before they go it is said aloud, "He gives his wife away." She is given, theoretically, not to her husband's ceremonial "grandfather," but to "the four old men" that play a part in esoteric Arapaho ritual. The woman prays, asking the old man for life. He spits medicine on the ground four times, once for each of the four old men. She lies down before him, stretching her legs and arms, facing him. He asks "the grandfather above" — apparently "our father" — to look, and puts away his desire. Restraining himself, he covers her with a robe, draws her up, and loads her back, pushing her gently before him. When she rejoins her husband, the latter says, "Hahō'u" ("thanks") four times. That this custom of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre is not confined to them, is evident from a well-known passage in Lewis and Clark.

1908.]

Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*.

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All that has been described took place for four successive days. While 796
it is not clearly so stated, it seems likely that the four nights on which medicine was given to the dancers' wives constituted the four-days' period of painting and dancing. On the fourth day, after the dancing, certain special spectacular ceremonies were gone through, analogous to those which in all the succeeding dances terminated the ceremony. In this dance, however, a second period of four days, in which the dancers acted in their assumed capacity of being crazy or foolish, followed these spectacular ceremonies of the fourth day.

On this fourth day, two prominent chiefs, noted for their success in war, were selected. They held bared knives, and two tent-poles were brought to them. Each of them recounted four of his most distinguished coups. They then cut up the tent-poles into small pieces, and piled them up at the fireplace of the lodge and set them on fire. The flames blazed up high, while the dancers stood north and south of the fire with their "grandfathers" and danced. The fire was kept up and tended so that all the wood would be simultaneously consumed. The dancers' relatives held them by the hair or body, wherever they could seize them, while the dancers stood like horses trying to break loose, and blew their whistles. Each tried to be the first to rush into the fire. They seem to have moved toward the fire four times without entering it. The fourth time, at a signal, 789
they were released, and rushed into the fire, dancing and stamping it with their bare feet until they had put it out. Medicine was put on the skin, and no one is said to have been burned; but men have fainted in the fire. One informant, who said that he had been the first to jump into the fire, stated that the soles of his feet became very hot, but that his skin was not burned.

After the fire had been put out, the dancers went to their "grandfathers," 796
who prayed over their bows, put medicine on them, and gave them to the young men. The old men then sang and the dancers marched around in a circle for four songs. At the end of the last song, they ran out of the lodge, racing to a monument, which had been erected by the young men of other companies, at some distance to the southeast, and back again to the lodge. As they returned, each passed between two men standing near the entrance of the lodge, to whom he gave his bow as he ran between them. One of these two men was the tallest man that could be secured; the other was as short as possible. One of them took the bows of the tall division of dancers; the other, of the short division. It is said that these two men received bows until they had a large armful, but that they never made a mistake in taking a bow from a man of the other division. It appears, however, that the racers carried their bows in their right or left 526

796 hand, according as they belonged to one division or the other. Vessels of
water were ready to pour on the racers in order to cool them. The four
526 "brothers," the dancers previously separate from the rest at the eastern
end of the lodge, did not run with the crowd, but started out slowly together,
their faces covered with their robes. They trotted at a slow pace over the
same course as the other dancers. As they returned, long after the crowd,
796 the boys, young men, and young women of the camp, had gathered on
both sides, and pelted them with buffalo-chips until they reached the dan-
cing-lodge. There is, in this slow following of the pledger and his three
companions, a reminiscence of the white-fool, the dancer of highest degree
in the Arapaho crazy-lodge, who on all occasions contrasts by his slow
movements with the other dancers.¹ After the return of all the dancers,
[431] they presented horses loaded with property to their "grandfathers," and
these made similar presents to them. These gifts seem to have been pay-
ments to the old men for their instruction and painting, and to have been
made at the conclusion of the part of the ceremony which was under their
control. From this time on, the dancers' wives returned to their tents,
and took no further part in the ceremony.

After this followed two observances. It is not certain which of the two
came first. A crowd of people were waiting for the dancers in the open.
The dancers, wearing their best moccasins put on loosely without being
tied, left the lodge; and the waiting people, mostly women and children,
ran after them, pulling off their moccasins, and, when they could not suc-
ceed in doing so otherwise, seizing their feet, and tripping them as they
went. The dancers did not try to escape, or save their moccasins, but
[888] allowed them to be taken. Or, again, an old man who was poor was se-
lected, and, having been given a pipe to smoke in order that he might
796 accept, he went to the east of the camp-circle. A buffalo robe was brought,
431 incensed four times with sweet-grass placed on burning charcoal or buf-
falo-chips, and then placed over the old man, with the hair side out, as,
bent over, he knelt on the ground. The dancers gathered about him, and

¹ According to an Arapaho account obtained, somewhat different from those previously
utilized, there are two white-fools, not one. It is not clear which information is more correct.
The white-fools always follow the dancers. If one of the ordinary dancers should be behind
them, he would become unable to move. This is the result of any violation of a rule of the
ceremony by a participant. In such cases the white-fools have the power to cure them by
taking off their owl-feather head-bands, and rubbing them over the body with them. The
white-fools are addressed as heigabihin ("sisters-in-law," strictly, "brother or sister-in-law"
of opposite sex from the speaker). The dancers, to look at a person, put their head to the
ground, and pretend to look with their rump. They throw dung into tents, calling it "food."
If people look at them through awl-holes in a tent, they at once shoot the tent in that place.
Going out on the prairie, they say, "Let us not shoot into the air," and shoot up. When the
arrows fall in plain sight, they cannot find them. If they fall into brush or tall grass, they find
them at once. They imitate, often with obscure renderings, anything that they hear, such as
a person's speech, or a dog's bark. They paralyze dogs by pointing at them an arrow to which
treacherous is attached. They give the dogs they kill to their "grandfathers" to eat. As
soon as they take off their head-bands, they become rational. Mooney's account of the Chey-
enne and Arapaho crazy-dance, which seems to refer chiefly to the former, mentions two white-
fools; compare Ghost-Dance Religion, op. cit., 1033.

the old man who had directed the ceremony stood by him. Until this time, the dancers' bows, which were to play so prominent a part in the dance of the next four days, had been unstrung. Each of the dancers carried a pair of moccasins in his belt, or perhaps some other property. The pledger now came up to have his bow stretched. The old man in charge of the dance, receiving the bow from him, rested it on the back of the crouching old man. Four times he bent it, and the fourth time slipped the string into its notch. Then he untied the three arrows from the bow and gave them to the young man, who put his moccasins or other gift under the croucher's robe. Another and another dancer came up with his bow, until all their bows had been strung on the back of the old man, and his robe swelled out from the accumulating gifts. 796 431

While the bows were being strung, the people took down the dancing-lodge, which, by the time of the return of the dancers to the centre of the camp-circle, was completely gone. The dancers now stood in a circle while the old man in charge of the dance, or, according to another account, two of the "grandfathers," sang for them. The long stick with rattling hoofs was shaken, and the young men danced for four songs. At the end of each song, they aimed an arrow at the sky, making a motion of shooting, and crying "Yaa!" At the end of the fourth song, all shot as high up as they could. As the arrows fell back they did not try to avoid them, and, it is said, were never hit. By this time the people had watered their horses and done whatever outdoor work was necessary, and retired to their tents, for, immediately after shooting into the air, the dancers rushed in all directions; and from this moment they had full liberty about the camp, except indoors, for four days. Any one seen outside of a tent was shot with the soft blunt arrows. He was pursued amid shots and blowing of whistles. If a man was caught, he was made to sit down, and all the dancers, seeing what was happening, gathered. If he rode, he was pursued on horseback until he was overtaken, whereupon he would say, "Do not wait: I will not give you a dance," meaning "Wait: I will give you a dance." Then they stood about him, and he sang and they danced. At the end of his song every one shouted "Yaa!" and kicked him until he was knocked over. Perhaps he would say, "Kick me hard." Then they would barely touch him. Sometimes he said, "Now you must kill me." If, however, he said, "Do not hurt me," he would be hurt severely. Scarcely any one went out during these four days, except, of course, the dancers' "grandfathers," who were exempt from annoyance. 786

The pointed arrow tied to each bow, and ordinarily not loosened, was prayed over for each young man by his "grandfather," and a piece of root esteemed as exceedingly powerful, and called *tjitjäätsä* (Arapaho, *tee-* 411 786

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[293] teäiteei), was attached to the shaft just behind the point. This root is the well-known poisonous wild parsnip. The arrow-point seems to have been painted blue. Even a slight scratch with this arrow was, on account of the power of the medicine, supposed to cause fits and death. The theory was, that if any one became angry under the unbridled annoyances of the crazy-dancers, and attempted to resist, he would be shot with this arrow. It is, of course, extremely unlikely that this ever actually occurred, or, if it did, the offender was, as among the Arapaho, no doubt immediately cured by the dancers from his imaginary convulsions or paralysis. If buffalo were driven among the tents of the camp-



Fig. 34.



Fig. 35.

Fig. 34 (50-1884 b). Crazy-dance Regalia. Length, 29 cm.
Fig. 35 (50-1884 c). Crazy-dance Regalia. Length, 23 cm.

circle, they were shot with these arrows, and are believed to have been killed, even if only very slightly wounded. Dogs were also killed in this way.

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431 After four days of this playing, the ceremony ended. At its conclusion the bows were given away to boys who were relatives of the dancers; but the other regalia were kept, as the dance was not infrequently repeated.

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More regalia of the crazy-dance than of any other ceremony were obtained for the Museum; but not a single set secured is complete. The Arapaho do not keep their crazy-dance bows after the ceremony, so that,

under the present much more complete disappearance of Gros Ventre regalia, the preservation of a bow (see Plate XII) is very fortunate, though it lacks string, arrows, the sage for the handle, and the buck-skin thong for wrapping the handle. The remaining ornaments of the bow have been re-attached to it. None of the peculiar crazy-dance robes or capes seem to be any longer in existence. Descriptions and drawings by the Indians show



Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.

Fig. 36 (50 1884 c). Crazy-dance Regalia. Length, 37 cm.
Fig. 37 (50 1884 k). Crazy-dance Regalia. Length, 25 cm.

that they must have been very similar to those of the Arapaho. The Gros Ventre, however, declare theirs to have been painted entirely red; those of the Arapaho are part red and part white. Two pieces of feathered owl-skin

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796 for the ends of the streamers of this robe have been preserved in a few sets
293 of these regalia. The head-band, leglets, anklets, and feather and fur
attachments of the bow, also exist in two or more sets in the Museum.
They agree entirely, so that only the set shown in Figs. 34, 35, 36, and 37,
need be described. This set lacks only the whistle and whistle necklace,
which have been supplied from another set (see Plate XII).

[41] The bow (see Plate XII) is three feet long, an inch wide, nearly rectangular
in cross-section, unbacked, and slightly reddened. At each end is tied a
piece of skin slit into seven fringes, to the end of each of which is wrapped
a crow-wing feather. At the middle of the bow is tied a strip of bear-skin
a foot long and an inch or less wide. With this are six owl-feathers, — all
to be held to the bow, it will be remembered, together with some sage, by a
thong. The pieces of owl-skin for the streamers on the robe (Fig. 34) need
no comment. The anklets of badger-skin are (Fig. 35) a foot long, an inch
or more wide, tied together by two thongs, and near one end have four small
hoofs attached. The head, leg, and neck bands differ from one another
only in length and in attachments. They consist of a strip of skin a quarter
of an inch wide, completely wrapped with yellow porcupine-quills. In
four places are areas extending about half an inch, that are covered with
dark-brown fibres. Attached to the head-band (Fig. 36) is part of a small
owl-skin, including one of the mandibles. The whistle on the neck-band
(Plate XII) is made of the wing-bone of an eagle or similar bird, and appears
to be unornamented. It has been broken. At one end of the leg-bands
(Fig. 37) are four small crow-feathers, attached by red-painted thongs.

THE KIT-FOX DANCE.

796 The kit-fox dance, the next in order after the crazy-dance, was called
nouha"wu; and the dancers, nouhunen ("kit-fox men"). In its general
course this ceremony was exactly analogous to the first part of the crazy-
dance. For four nights, the dancers' wives went out with their "grand-
fathers" to receive medicine, and for four days, the dancers themselves
danced in the lodge erected in the centre of the camp-circle. On the fourth
day of the ceremony, or "after four days," as the Indians say, the dancers
went to the tent of a prominent chief and danced at his door, which was
[43] equivalent to asking him for gifts. The chief would give them horses and
other property. Three other chiefs were accorded the same distinction.
The camp thereupon broke, and the dancers, going ahead, put the property
which they had received down on the ground in a row. The camp coming
up, the brave men of the tribe made a charge on these things, as if they were

an enemy; and each took from among the property as nearly as possible such objects as he had actually captured in war. One who had stolen horses would take a horse; one who had taken a gun from an enemy would pick out a gun. While this was being done, or soon after, the dancers were dancing, concluding with a race similar to that in the crazy-dance. This marked the end of the ceremony.

There were several degrees of distinction in this dance. Two men had crooked lances wrapped with otter-skin. In four places these lances were tied about with small strips of white fur from which a pair of eagle-feathers hung. These lances were called noučä'ts'ta". Two other lances were straight, and wrapped with jack-rabbit skin. These also bore feathers. A single dancer had a rattle of the globular shape common on the Plains. Half of the rattle was painted red, and half blue; and feathers were attached both to the top of the rattle and to the bottom of its handle. These regalia of honor were given to men renowned in war. A pipe was brought such a man, and if he thought himself entitled to the honor, and was ready to accept it, he took the pipe. If a man felt that others were really braver than himself, or had some other reason, he refused to take the pipe. One informant stated that he had declined the proffered honor because his wife's brother had recently died. The rank and file of the kit-fox dancers are said to have worn belts of prairie-dog skin. How far these corresponded with the biitah-wu belts of the Arapaho is uncertain. The fur-wrapped crooked and straight lances are certainly similar to the crooked and straight lances indicating the second and third degrees in the Arapaho biitah-wu.

Two girls took part in this ceremony. They were girls who were much thought of and beloved by their relatives. One of the dancers carried a kit-fox skin, the inside of which was painted blue. His companion had the rattle that has been described. While he rattled, the other, holding the skin by the neck and the tail, pointed it at the other dancers. These ran off, and this seems to have been the signal for the beginning of the dance. The two girls followed these two men everywhere. Their parents and relatives gave away great quantities of property in the dancing-lodge. Something similar is found in one of the Cheyenne society-dances, in which four young women accompanied the dancers from place to place.

Nothing was learned about the origin of the kit-fox dance, except that it is said to have been given by the kit-foxes, which is like what the Cheyenne tell of their analogous society.

A neck-band of badger-skin is the only object secured said to have been used in the kit-fox dance. To the end of it a tip of whitish rabbit-fur is attached. The lower part of the piece, which bears this rabbit-fur, hangs down the dancer's back. The upper portion, which is about four inches wide, is slit for a distance of a foot. Through this slit the head is inserted.

THE DOG-DANCE.

796 Next after the kit-fox dance is the dog-dance, hotibya^{bu}wu. The dancers were called hotibyi ("dogs"). What has been said about the general course of the kit-fox ceremony applies also to this. On the last day, the dancers danced before the tents of several prominent men of the tribe for gifts. Then, going ahead of the route which the camp would take, they spread out this property and waited. When the camp arrived, a stick with rattles attached, similar to that used for the same purpose in the crazy-dance, was struck on the ground by one of the old men, whereupon the singing commenced, and the dancers danced four times. At the end of the fourth song, they raced, during which time, if not before, the people of the camp, it appears, seized the property.

The dog-dance is said to have been given by a dog. A long-haired dog was left behind when the camp left. An old man going into the hills to acquire supernatural power saw the dog following the trail, and, wondering, went to see, and pitied him. He went to sleep by him; and the dog, knowing the old man's pity for him, pitied him, and, appearing to him in a dream, said he would give him a dance, the dog-dance. He especially described to him the highest degree of the dance, the tsöiyanchi, which seems to be a representation of himself.

796 The dancers wore a strip of skin or red cloth on which four round figures
292 were embroidered in quills, and which passed over one shoulder and under the other, the lower end dragging on the ground. At this end there was a hole, through which, in time of war, a stick was stuck. The wearers then did not flee, even if to remain resulted in their being killed. These scarfs appear to have resembled closely the scarfs worn by the Arapaho dancers of the second and third degree in the same ceremony. They were called nau^{tsöiya}. In addition the dancers wore bunchy head-dresses of owl feathers and of two eagle-feathers. They also carried rattles of a stick on which hoofs were hung.

796 Two men were of higher degree, that is to say, honored on account of
554 bravery. These were the "shaggy dogs," and were called tsöiyanchin, the
292 dialectic equivalent of the Arapaho tsöiyanchina. Among the Arapaho, however, there is only one dancer of this highest degree. As among the Arapaho, these men did not get up, or take part in the dancing, unless they were struck, or driven to it. They wore a shirt all over which circles were fastened in *appliqué*. To the centre of each circle, feathers were attached. On their heads they had owl-feather bunches like those of the rank and file of the dancers; and around their necks were long strings of bear-claws.

They also had rattles similar to those of the rank and file of dog-dancers,—⁷⁹⁶
a row of small hoofs attached to a stick,—except that the rattles of the ⁵⁵⁴
tsöbyanehin were forked instead of single. In addition they each had a long ²⁹²
wooden whistle.

Some of the "grandfathers" are said also to have worn scarfs, like the dancers; but as these were made of pieces of old tent-skins, undecorated and ugly, it is probable that this action was intended to be ridiculous.

The "shaggy dog" took his whistle, forked rattle, and head-dress with him when he went to the lodge, but left his crow-feather-covered shirt behind. When he was in the lodge, a woman was sent for the shirt. She put it on, and went to the lodge, wearing it. Standing before the "shaggy dog," she pulled it off, and, holding it open at the bottom, moved four times as if to put it on him. The fourth time, she drew it over and on him. The place of the two "shaggy dogs" in the lodge was at the western end, the middle of the buck.

The dog-lodge is described as having been constructed like the crazy-⁷⁹⁶
lodge, and to have had the same small screen or partial enclosure at the ^[346]
eastern end, facing the entrance of the lodge.

The beginning of the dancing was as follows. One of the old men who would sing, went in a circle four times. He was followed by the two "shaggy dogs." The old man began to sing and dance, and the two "shaggy dogs" whistled. When they moved to any distance away from him, the old man motioned and clicked to them, as one does to a dog. Then they danced toward him. After this, the rank and file of the dancers stood up and danced. Four servants of the dance, said to have been chiefs, sat in front of the small enclosure at the east. When they thought that the dancers had danced long enough, one of these went among them and said, "Friends, rest." Thereupon they all stopped dancing, standing in their places. Then this man told a war story. When the singers thought that the dancers had rested sufficiently, they began to sing and the members of the company took up their dancing again. Altogether they danced four times, being made to rest each time by the exhortation of an old man who told a war story. This dancing took place four days, during which period the dancers were supposed not to sleep.

When at night the dancers left the lodge and danced before the tents of chiefs, begging for gifts, the two "shaggy dogs" are said to have stood by the door of the tent. It is therefore probable that the body of the dancers formed a circle in front of the tent, as they do among the Arapaho on this occasion. When the owner of the tent had given them property, he pulled at the flaps hanging at the sides of the feather-covered shirts of the "shaggy dogs," whereupon they sat down and the dancing ceased. This dancing for gifts is said to have continued for four entire nights. ^[431]

796 As in the other ceremonies, the dancers were painted over the entire
 302 body. It does not seem that the long-continued painting of the Arapaho
 562 dog-dance, in connection with which the relationship between the dancers' wives and "grandfathers" found its chief expression in this tribe, existed among the Gros Ventre. The women, however, took considerable part in the ceremony as in the others, being painted with their husbands, sitting in the lodge and singing, and at times putting on their regalia; whereupon the men took hold of the ends of the regalia, and their wives led them about.

796 The complete disintegration and disuse of the old ceremonial life of
 178 the Gros Ventre is shown by the fact that not a single dog-dance object belonging to an ordinary dancer has been collected. It is therefore the more fortunate that the Museum has been able to complete, through Dr. Clark Wissler, a valuable set of the regalia of the highest degree of this dance. This unique group of specimens is shown in Figs. 38, 39, and 40, and Plate XIII.

796 The coat (Fig. 38) is in shape an ordinary deer-skin shirt. At the neck
 292 is an edging of red flannel. On the upper arms are two short, transverse bars of white quill-embroidery, the quills laid on in diagonal zigzag stitch. At each of the sides, at the bottom of the shirt, hang two long, pointed strips, as customary on men's shirts, — the legs of the animal decoratively used. Under the armpits are similar shorter flaps. The two sides of the shirt are open from the bottom to under the arms. These open edges, the hanging strips, the lower border, and the ends of the sleeves, are ornamented with a fringe about an inch long. The lower portion of the shirt for a width of about half a foot, and the hanging strips, are painted yellow. All the remainder of the shirt has been stained brown, apparently over yellow paint. On the two sides there are in this brown area a total of 225 yellow circles about an inch and a half in diameter, which have not been painted over with the brown stain. Each of these circles is edged by white quill-work, and from its centre hangs a mutilated crow-feather by a thong. The edging of the circles is produced by using single quills as threads in an in-and-out rotary stitch. The crow-feathers have the quill broken, in from one to four places, without being severed. The vanes are for the most part considerably disarranged, as if intentionally. At the lower end the feathers are cut off square and the quill is flattened by cutting on two sides, as if to get rid of the lowest part of the vane. The quill is cut in this way so far from its natural base that it is entirely solid. The feathers are simply wrapped against a thong with sinew. The end of the thong projects a little beyond the sinew. The thongs on the outside of the skin average half an inch in length, and are painted yellow. Each passes through a hole in the centre of a yellow circle. Behind this, that is, on the inner side of the shirt, it is

796 knotted on itself sufficiently to keep from being pulled out. Of the circles,
 292 forty-two are on one sleeve, forty-three on the other; on the two sides of the
 shirt there are sixty-three and seventy-seven, in seven and eight rows of
 from six to thirteen.

The owl-feather head-dress of this set of regalia (see Plate XIII) contains



Fig. 38 (50-4277). Dog-dance Shirt, Highest Degree. Length, 70 cm.

several hundred feathers mounted on a skin cap. This cap is of heavy skin, circular, somewhat over a foot in diameter, and surrounded by a short fringe. The inner ends of this fringe are wound with white porcupine-quills. The upper surface of the cap is painted yellow, the under side is unpainted. Two thongs hanging from the edge of the cap serve to tie it.

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[284] The feathers on this cap all have the quill split nearly as far down as the vanes extend. They are attached to one or perhaps more thongs painted yellow, which form a continuous, or at least virtually continuous, expanding spiral of six or more turns from the centre of the head-dress to about one-third of the distance to the edge. This thong gathers several feathers, then passes for a short stitch through the skin of the cap, not penetrating to the under side. Thus it continues its spiral course, lying for almost its whole length on the upper surface of the cap. The feathers are all attached to it in one fundamental manner, the thong passing through a loop formed by the turning-back on itself of the cut-down end of the quill. But three variations

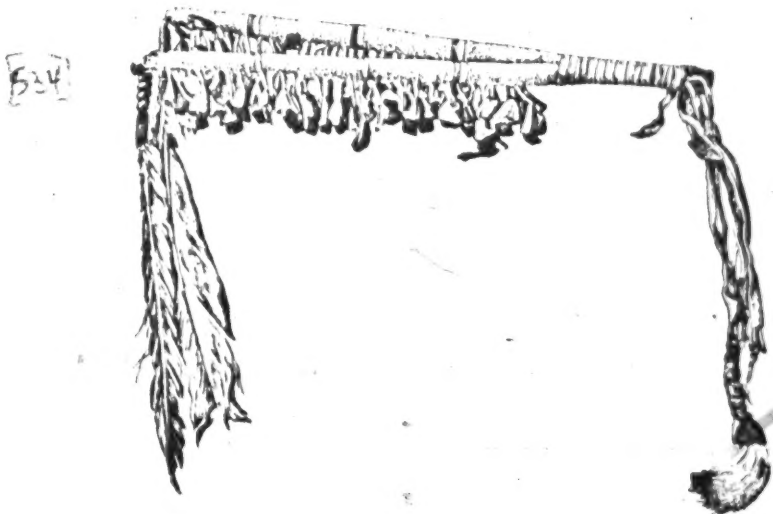


Fig. 39 (50-1759 a). Rattle of Dog-dancer, Highest-Degree. Length, 47 cm.

of this method appear. Sometimes the end of the quill is turned into itself. In other cases the end is bent forward in the same way, but laid over the outside of the quill, and lashed to it with wrapping of sinew. This sinew wrapping, however, is used also with the first method, though it is not absolutely essential. In other cases the end of the quill is bent backward on itself so that its inner side is out, and fastened in the same way. When this is done, a smaller feather has its quill inserted in the sinew wrapping holding the loop of the main feather. Why the quill should be looped backward whenever a small feather is included, and only then, is not clear. The area encircled by the thong with its hundreds of feathers strung on it is only a

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small part of the surface of the cap. The feathers are long enough to extend beyond the outer edge of the skin as they fall. Two special, slightly longer wing-feathers of the same species of owl are separately attached near the top of the head-dress, on opposite sides, like horns, by thongs passing through the skin where their ends hang loose. These evidently correspond to the two eagle-feathers once mentioned as occurring on the owl-feather caps of the rank and file of the dog-dancers.

The rattle of the Gros Ventre tsöyanchin (Fig. 30) is very similar to the Arapaho dog-dance rattles, its most prominent peculiarity being that it is

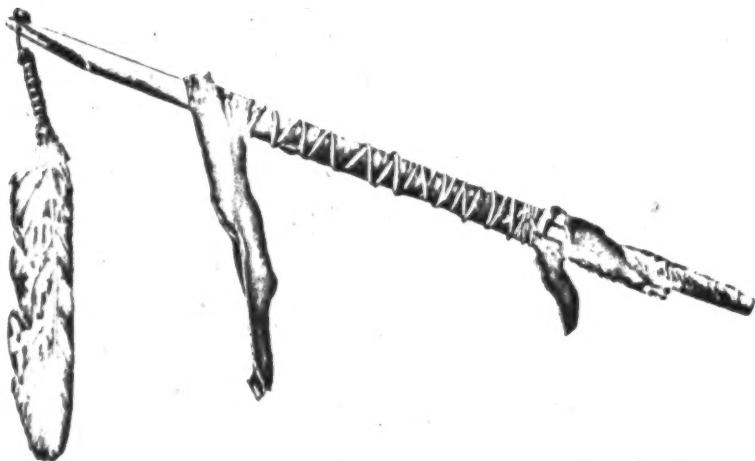


Fig. 40 (50-1789 b). Whistle of Dog-dancer, Highest Degree. Length, 60 cm.

bifurcated. Two sticks appear to have been joined at the handle so as to spread slightly. The sticks, where separate, are incased in skin painted yellow; at the handle they are wrapped together with a flat thong. Across each stick pass three stripes of quill-embroidery, each consisting of a red row of quills bordered on each side by white. At the end of each fork hangs an eagle-wing feather, the base of its quill covered with red cloth. Along the lower side of each fork are the small hoofs that rattle. There are on each stick about thirty-three pairs of these hoofs. Each pair is attached to a yellow-painted thong passing through the skin casing of the stick where this is joined in a sinew-sewn seam. The ends of these thongs pass through holes at the upper ends of the irregularly pyramidal-shaped hoofs. Inside the hoof, the end of thong is knotted around the middle of a little strip of red flannel or blanketing. This prevents the thong from being pulled out

796 of the hoof; at the same time the two ends of the red cloth hang out of the
534 hoof, giving a decorative effect. At the end of the handle the skin casing
of the sticks emerges from under its thong wrapping, and hangs down free
about two-thirds of a foot. Part of this loose strip is cut out, so as to make
of the remainder a loop to pass over the wrist. In this cut-out portion
are four narrow thongs,—two wound with white quills, two with red. The
end of this loop-strip is fringed and quill-wound; a deer-tail, its base covered
with red cloth, hangs from it.

The whistle (Fig. 40) is of wood, in which it differs from all Arapaho
bāyaa^uwu whistles, painted yellow, and two feet long. The end farthest
from the mouth is cut off diagonally almost to a point. Here is hung an
eagle-feather, its base covered with red cloth. Along the middle portion
of the whistle are laid two strips of red cloth, held by two sinew bands and
by a long doubly wound thong wrapped with white porcupine-quills. These
red strips are not quite wide enough to entirely cover the whistle. The two
ends of both pieces hang free. Where the cloth ends on the whistle, toward
the mouthpiece, two magpie-feathers are laid along the wood, nearly to the
end, their bases being held by the last wrappings of the cloth. One or more
small yellowhammer-feathers are also held by these wrappings.

[822] Another dog-dance whistle secured (specimen Museum No. 50-1809) was
said also to have been used by a tsōōyanchi. Its only essential difference
from the piece just described is that it is painted red, whereas the previous
one, like all the regalia which it accompanied, was yellow. The present
whistle is one-third shorter, has the yellowhammer-feathers displayed more
conspicuously, has a plain instead of a quill-wound thong to hold the red
cloth, lacks the red cloth at the base of its end eagle-feather, and has this
feather painted over red. All these differences, except that of general color,
are either insignificant or matters of proportion.

THE NANĀ^uNAHA^uW^u.

796 The fifth dance is known, nearly as among the Arapaho, by the name of
nanā^unaha^uw^u. The exact meaning of this term is not known. It is gen-
erally translated "soldiers' lodge." The dancers are called nanā^unāhā^uts,
or hiityānā^usūts, which means "those who have war-sticks," the teānā^usō or
Arapaho teeōx. The lodge was made, as for the other dances, of the two
largest tents available, in the middle of the camp-circle, with the door to-
wards the east. The dancers obtained medicine from their "grandfathers"
through their wives at night, were painted in the morning, and danced during
the day, or, according to another account, at night. In the songs of this
dance the buffalo were called, and it is said that the ceremony always resulted

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in the approach of the buffalo, even if previously there had been none in the vicinity of the camp.

The dancers carried representations of war-spikes or tomahawks, which apparently resembled the buffalo-shaped sticks of the first dance of the Arapaho. The sticks are described as being about as long as women's digging-sticks, and, like them, sharpened at one end. The other end, however, was bent. The stick was painted red, and a quill-embroidered strip of skin was wound around it as a handle. A buffalo-calf's tail and a bunch of buffalo-fetlocks, and no doubt other objects, were also attached. The stick was used as a rattle.

The conclusion of this ceremony presented a feature not found in the two preceding ones. According to one account, the gifts obtained by these dancers were received in payment from the spectators looking in at the lodge. After four days the camp broke, and followed the dancers. On reaching a place where the property had been laid on the ground, the people of the tribe stood in a long row, facing the east. One of the dancers filled a pipe, and selecting one of the poorest men in the camp offered it to him. When the old man took the pipe, the dancer prayed him to allow that all of his company should strike him (count coup on him). A bed of sage was then made for the old man in front of the assembled tribe. Along the edges of this bed, buffalo-chips were laid. The old man crouched on his hands and knees with his head toward the east, and, like the old man undergoing a similar humiliation in the crazy-dance, was covered with a buffalo robe the hair-side of which was turned out. The dancers faced him in a row and danced, rattling. After four songs they ran to the old man, and one after another struck him lightly, each placing beside him a moccasin or some other object, which the old man, on getting up, kept for himself. Then the dancers' "grandfathers" each picked up one of the buffalo-chips from the edges of the sage, and, when they had prepared them, one of the dancers squatted over each. Then his "grandfather," taking him by the shoulders, motioned with him four times, and the fourth time pushed him down. When they had all sat down, each "grandfather" spoke to his "grandson," telling him, "From now on, you need not be afraid to interrupt a sacred performance. You can talk obscenely to a chief, and no one will say anything to you." The people had been watching this performance, which marked the end of the dance.

THE BITAHAN^{WU}.

As stated, this dance has been abandoned a long time, and very little information was obtained regarding it. Men are alive who have seen it,

796 but none are living who have taken part in it. The meaning of the term, as among the Arapaho, is unknown. One informant gave the etymology "drum-dance" (from *biitaxāāna*¹, "drum"). The dancers were called *biitaxāānen*. As in the preceding ceremonies, a man took part in this dance accompanied by his wife, or, if it happened to be held while he was at war, his wife took part as if he were present. Nothing is known as to the conduct of the ceremony nor as to the regalia, except that the dancers, or certain of them, carried crooked sticks wrapped with white fur. The dancers were painted over their body with dots resembling hail. The dance is looked upon as having been very dangerous, as a mistake in painting or in other observances would result in death from the thunder.

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It is not impossible, that, if the present Arapaho series of dances represents a more original order of arrangement than the Gros Ventre, in the development of the Gros Ventre series the *biitaha*^{wu} was displaced by the kit-fox dance, which grew in importance from a dance of the youngest men to one of older men. This would account for the use of crooked fur-wrapped sticks in the Gros Ventre kit-fox dance as well as in their *biitaha*^{wu}. If this was the course of events, it does not follow that the *biitaha*^{wu} became the sixth dance of the series. It may simply have been displaced, and fallen into disuse. Lack of knowledge of the proper conduct of the ceremony would be sufficient to make the Indians afraid to undertake it. It has been stated that no informants could be found who professed to know the place of this dance in the series, and it is possible that its dangerous qualities were not due to its greater sacredness through being the dance of the oldest men, but to such lack of knowledge. On the whole it is very difficult to see how such differentiations in the order of dances as exist in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre schemes of ceremonial organization may have taken place.

THE WOMEN'S DANCE.

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The women's dance — called *benuxta*^{wu}, the dancers being named *benuxteciā*ⁿ¹ — resembles the Arapaho women's dance quite closely. The dancers had on their ordinary clothing, but wore belts to which four buffalo-tails were fastened, and head-dresses which fell down the back of their heads and from which horns rose. These head-dresses are said to have been covered with feathers; but it seems possible that this statement refers only to the dancers of certain degrees, as among the Arapaho only the dancer of highest degree wears such a feather-covered head-dress. Four of the dancers wore no horned head-dress, but "war-bonnets." These may have been equivalent

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¹ The Gros Ventre declare that they do not know the significance of the word element *benux-te*.

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to the Arapaho "white-stand" and "red-stand" head-dresses of upright feathers surrounding the head. The dancers are described as all old or elderly women, which among the Arapaho was not the case. The exceptions were two participants called "calves" (nihanou, "yellow calves"), who were middle-aged, or, at any rate, adults. Among the Arapaho the "calves" were children. There is a further difference, that, whereas among the Arapaho the "calves" were of high degree in the dance and for the greater part of the time were not allowed to stir, the Gros Ventre "calves" took the place of the *atsaan* or servants in the men's dances. They are said to have worn no regalia. The dancers were painted with the symbol of a pipe on each cheek, close under the eye. Old men sang for them, rattling but not using a drum. The women in dancing shifted their weight from one side of the body to the other, and cried like crows. Two tent-poles, two pegs, and two ropes belonging to the dancing-lodge, were painted respectively one black and one red. On the fourth day of the ceremony there were observances outside of the dancing-lodge. A prominent chief was selected to take a burning stick. The dancers, moving and running about like a herd of buffalo, pretended to scent the smoke of his fire from windward, and stampeded. Another distinguished warrior pretended to shoot at the herd as if they were buffalo. Both of these features of the ceremony are found among the Arapaho. A third distinguished man (or perhaps several) was honored by being offered a pipe to smoke, and on his acceptance was given a vessel of water containing berries. He then gave away property.

THE SUN-DANCE.

As stated before, the Gros Ventre sun-dance, *hageiha^{wu}*, is not restricted to men belonging to certain age-companies, but, as among the Arapaho, can be made by any man.¹ Like the other dances, however, it is made as the result of the pledge of an individual for deliverance from sickness or danger. As soon as the pledge has been publicly announced, or as soon thereafter as the buffalo begin to get fat in spring, the pledger and his relatives begin to accumulate buffalo-tongues, which they slice and dry like buffalo-meat. They also save a buffalo-skin, which is packed with the tongues, two sticks being wrapped up in it. When the time comes, a large lodge made of two tent-covers is set up in the middle of the camp-circle. Into this many women enter at night to sing. This marks the beginning of the ceremony. The tent is called *tjinaa^{wu}* ("prairie-chicken lodge"); and the participants, "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-chicken women." The pledger brings his buffalo-skin to this lodge. He incenses it four times.

¹ See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 182.

796 Entering the tent very slowly while the people are singing, he stops four times at the end of a song, and motions with the skin. The fourth time he throws the skin among the singers, who shout, and seize it, spread it out, and commence to beat it with their sticks and sing the songs of the night. They go through all the sun-dance songs this night. In the morning the entire camp breaks, and moves to another place not far away. That night the entire ritual is gone through again, and this is repeated altogether four times. The pledger provides food for the singers in the prairie-chicken lodge. The singing in this lodge is called "singing-for-it" (niinibyaatou).

[302] After the four nights of the prairie-chicken lodge, seven chiefs are selected to go out as scouts looking for trees to be used in the dancing-lodge. The trees should be straight, and the largest one, for the middle, forked. These men scout for the trees as they would for an enemy. They are painted as if for war, and wear what they would in war. When the people in the camp see them returning, they rush to the centre of the camp-circle, carrying hand-drums. The scouts go circling and dancing, and crying like wolves or coyotes, whereupon the people cry out that the scouts are returning successfully. Those who bear drums stand in a line abreast; in front of them is a pile of rocks. The scouts, still circling, and crying each time they face the direction from which they have come, approach nearer and nearer. Then one by one they circle about the heap of stones, and, stepping forward a short distance, stop and stand abreast, facing the drums. A prominent man who has been selected steps out from the people and recounts his most distinguished coups. Thereupon he goes up to one of the seven scouts, and leads his horse forward by the bridle. The scout then recounts four coups. Then the chief leads forward the horse of the next scout, who also tells four stories; and so on until all seven have spoken. Thereupon the first of the seven addresses the people, and reports that they have found good-looking people and a chief, meaning the smaller poles and the central fork of the lodge.

Some time after this the people go to the trees. The young men especially dress and paint themselves as well as they can, and ride their best horses. They go first to what is to be the central pole. One man dismounts, and places coals and fir-needle incense on the ground on four sides of the tree, thus incensing it. Then all dismount, and, standing about and having shouted, begin to sing. After they have sung, two men stand by the tree and swing axes four times, as if to strike it. Then they begin to chop it. When the tree begins to lean, every one shoots at it; and when it falls, all dash up to it and strip it of branches and leaves. Thereupon they scatter in the timber, cutting the smaller forks and poles, and as each one of these falls it is shot. There are many small parties getting these smaller forks,

and there is much noise in the timber. Many young men tie ropes to the centre post, and, riding their horses, drag the tree to the camp, while others follow shooting it. The smaller trees are brought back in the same way. 796

While the people are bringing the trees, four distinguished warriors have been selected to go out on the prairie to kill a buffalo-bull, which one of them is to kill with a single shot. Theoretically the four men have only a single bow and arrow, or a gun with only one cartridge. As soon as they see the buffalo, they stop, and each of them recounts coups. Then they attack the bull. It is said that, if the designated man kills the bull with one shot, the coups which he has counted have been told truly; but, if more than one shot is required, he has lied. It is said that they are almost always successful. They skin the bull, and leave the body.

Meanwhile the old people of the tribe have been digging the holes in which the upright forks of the lodge are to be set. When the young people return with the trees, and the four chiefs with the buffalo-skin, these holes are completed. Two prominent men are selected, and, after each has counted four coups, they cut the fresh hide into thongs. These are used to tie the horizontal rafter-poles of the lodge fast to the upright forks in which they rest. The two men who have done the cutting then give away property to old people.

After this the members of the age-companies gather. In more recent times the war-dancers assemble on one side of the lodge, the star-dancers on the other. They carry tent-poles, which are tied in pairs by a short rope near the top. Each man holds one pole of such a pair. The poles are used to lift the centre fork, which will rest on the thongs connecting the tops of the poles. The pledger now goes around the lodge very slowly, painting the poles as they lie on the ground, rubbing each with the palm of his hand in four places. It is probable that, as among the Arapaho, he does not go alone in this painting. The people who are to raise the centre fork are standing where the outer wall of the lodge will later be, singing. At the end of the song they shout. Then they proceed to the centre pole, which is lying with the top toward the east. The pledger and the old men stand in a row at the eastern end. The old man keeping the sacred flat pipe incenses this four times, and sings the songs that relate to the pipe. The hole into which the butt of the tree is to be set is incensed with sweet-grass. Then the keeper of the pipe touches the head of the tree with his pipe, and motions to it four times. The motion of the pipe is supposed to raise the tree. The joined poles have been placed under the tree, and other people support it with their hands. Four times the tree moves under their efforts and the influence of the pipe. The fourth time, the keeper of the pipe says "Now," and the tree is entirely raised up, and set in its hole. As soon as the centre

796 fork is upright, the young men all compete, trying to raise their rafters into position in the centre fork and in a fork at the periphery, before the others. After the tree has been raised, or possibly before, the young men go out, apparently by age-companies, to cut willows to form the walls of the lodge. More recently the star-dancers and war-dancers have done this, those of each company taking the wives of the men of the other company on their horses behind them. As they go, they shoot up in the air, and when in the timber each man cuts a willow-branch. They return holding the branches and singing, ride around the lodge, and then deposit them. After the outside rafter-poles of the lodge have been tied fast in the forks, these branches are leaned in position, forming an enclosure of the lodge.

The centre fork has a buffalo-tail attached to it. A bundle of brush, called a "nest," is also fastened in the fork. A lightning symbol is made on the western side of the tree down to the ground. Inside the lodge a low screen, said to be about waist high, is erected at the western end, opposite the entrance. Behind this is the pledger of the dance. In front of the screen is a painted buffalo-skull. Two sticks of cherry-wood, one red and one black, stand on each side of the skull. A wheel or ceremonial hoop made of a stick bent in a circle, wrapped with skin, and with feathers attached, is hung on one of these sticks. Just as clothing is hung at the ends of the horizontal rafters of the lodge, or possibly on the centre fork itself, as an offering to the sun, objects are said to be hung on this brush screen at the western end of the lodge.

[17] Apparently the general course of the main portion of the dance, which follows the erection of the lodge, is similar to that of the Arapaho sun-dance, though there are certain features entirely without parallel among the Arapaho. The pledger and the other dancers neither eat nor drink during the ceremony. Women join in the fasting, but do not dance. The dancers stand whistling, and looking up at the "nest" in the tree.

796 The self-torture characterizing the sun-dance among most tribes is found
304 with the Gros Ventre in its usual form. Four knotted thongs hang from the
785 centre fork. Two sticks are passed under the skin of the dancers' breasts, one on each side, to which the thongs are fastened. The dancers try to tear the sticks out of their skin. Some whose skin is tough do not succeed. In that case a medicine-man comes to them and makes them unconscious of pain, so that they break loose easily. When they have fallen, he restores them to consciousness. One after the other, the dancers go through this ordeal. While the dancers are thus tied to the tree, they move back and forth, apparently dancing. This is called *niina^{ts}öiaⁿ*. Some dancers also fasten shields in a similar way to the skin of their back, and pull these out. Others are attached by the breast to a post located outside of the dancing-

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lodge. Other men go up into the hills near the camp, where they are fastened to a post, and fast from sunrise to sunset. In the evening their ceremonial "grandfather" comes and cuts them loose. Young men who want to meet with success in war pierce the skin over their shoulder-blade, and, having inserted sticks, hang two guns to these on each side. Sometimes a crooked-hoofed horse is fastened to the sticks. Thereupon they go about outside of the camp-circle, crying constantly, hoping that some supernatural being will pity them. Still others tie four or five buffalo-skulls in a row, which they fasten in the same way to their backs. They also go around the camp-circle.

If it is thought possible that the enemy may be near at the time of the dance, a man brings a filled pipe to the pledger of the dance and offers it to him, asking about the enemy. The pledger takes out his medicine-bag, which is the skin of the animal he saw in his vision, incenses it, and performs the acts which this guardian animal commanded. Every one is quiet, and the fire is put out so that the lodge is completely dark. The pledger blows his whistle, and the people sing for him as loudly as they can. He makes motions around his head with his medicine, thereby asking his guardian spirit to enable him to see supernaturally. He continues his motions until he is able to see the enemy. Thereupon he sits down. After this, another man offers him a pipe, saying, "We wish you to tell us what you have seen. Therefore take this pipe and smoke it." After he has smoked, the pledger tells the people how many people he has seen, and where they are. He says, "I saw so many buffalo-bulls (men). They are coming from there. Take charcoal for successful battle" (black being the paint of victory).

The dancers also have the power to see the enemy. If, as they look at the "nest" day and night, they see legs hanging down, or a headless body in the tree, it is the sign that an enemy will be killed by the tribe. If, on the other hand, they see blood on the poles overhead or running down the central tree, a member of the tribe will be killed. Sometimes they see a man whom they can recognize as a member of the tribe, black as coal and very thin, hanging from the poles above them. Then he will die soon.

Each day certain men, who seem to be young men, are selected, and their names called out. These men dress as if for war. When they enter, it seems that they sit in a row at the left of the entrance. The bravest of them are then selected, and taken to the back of the lodge, where a bed and head-rest have been prepared, on which they sit. One of these men counts a coup, and picking up a stick puts it into the fire. One after another they do this until a large fire is blazing. These men are called *tsóotaxwuhuu* ("inside dancers"). Thereupon two old men, going to the centre of the lodge and conferring in whispers, select six or eight warriors. As soon as these

796 men are named, their female relatives return to their tents, and cook. When they have prepared food, they all together bring a large quantity of it to the lodge. The men selected carry weapons, and are dressed for war. They are usually mounted. Where they themselves or their horses were wounded, [302] they paint themselves. If they have ridden over an enemy, a man is painted on the breast of the horse. When the food which has been brought by their female relatives has been eaten, these men, two at a time, go through numerous performances of their achievements in battle. This is done each day of the dance.

796 A group of men and women, called, like those in the preliminary singing-tent, "prairie-chickens," and therefore probably the same persons, seem to be the singers for the dance. They beat a rawhide in place of a drum, [534] and hold branches, which, at the end of each song, they shake, shouting.

[277] The dancers may not drink water, no matter how great the heat. If [821] one of them is unable to endure, and a pitying relative gives him even only a drop, a thunderstorm follows, and the offender may be struck by lightning, or one of his horses may be killed by lightning. In case it seems necessary for the dancers to drink, a pipe is taken to one of the old men. If he accepts it and smokes it, he goes to the central tree. He wears a robe with the hair-side out. He has a whistle in his mouth, feathers in one hand, and a crow-skin in the other. He strikes the bill of the crow four times, with a downward motion, against the lightning symbol on the tree. [789] A vessel is held against the tree at the bottom of the symbol, and, after the fourth blow, water is said to run out until the vessel is filled, when it stops. This water is given to the dancers, each of whom drinks a very small quantity. [582] The actions of the man producing this water are said to be determined by his personal supernatural vision.

After the four days of the ceremony are completed, the lodge is left standing. All the cloth and clothing that have been attached to it remain [589] in place, and it appears that other clothes, especially of children, are left at the lodge. This is done in order that the children may live a long life.

796 From drawings made by a Gros Ventre, it appears that the buffalo-skull is painted with spots, and has its nose and eyes stuffed. Behind it is 532 represented a dancer holding the wheel. He is presumably the pledger of the ceremony. The wheel is bisected by two strings, and has eagle-feathers and down-feathers attached to it. The dancer blows a whistle at the end of which is a plume. The whistle hangs from his neck. At the back of the head is a plume. Lines of paint proceed from his breast to his wrists and ankles. On each of these are four diamonds, two on each upper and lower arm, thigh, and calf. If this is a correct representation, the Gros Ventre use at least one style of painting that is like the most typical Arap-

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who sun-dance paint. Usually the Arapaho paint only two diamonds on⁷⁹⁶ each limb; but four have been seen on the northern Arapaho pledger, as⁵³² in this picture. Another drawing repeats this painting, and adds a head-band, anklets, and wristlets apparently corresponding to the sage ornaments of the Arapaho. In a third drawing a dancer is painted with lightning symbols down his legs and arms.

The Gros Ventre and Arapaho sun-dances differ about as much as⁷⁹⁶ their respective age-company ceremonies. The principal discrepancies seem¹⁷¹ to be the following.

The Gros Ventre accumulation of buffalo-tongues by the pledger after the making of the vow and before the ceremony. This feature is found among the Blackfoot, but not among the Arapaho.

The prairie-chicken lodge with its four-nights' singing apparently corresponds somewhat to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; but its daily removal, accompanied by the camp-circle, is not found among the Arapaho. The prairie-chicken singing recalls a feature in the Arapaho hinanaha⁷⁹⁶wu, the fifth of the age-ceremonies.

According to the account obtained, the public ceremonies relating to the erection of the lodge do not take place until after the four-nights' singing in the prairie-chicken tent. Among the Arapaho, they occur while the rabbit-tent is in use, and are in large part connected with the rites within it. It is also not clear how long a time these public ceremonies—the scouting for the trees, the bringing-in of the centre pole, the killing of the buffalo, and the painting of the lodge-poles and erection of the lodge—occupy. They are described as if they occurred in the space of a day.^[14] This would not be impossible; but it is likely that this impression is due to indefiniteness of narration. It is, however, distinctly stated that the buffalo is shot while the people are bringing in the centre pole. Among the Arapaho, the centre pole is brought in two days after the buffalo has been shot. The skin of this buffalo is kept entire and taken into the dancing-lodge; by the Gros Ventre it is cut into thongs for fastening the lodge-beams to the upright forks.

The "altars" of the two ceremonies cannot be definitely compared, owing to the indefiniteness of information from the Gros Ventre. The screen corresponds to the seven small trees of the Arapaho; the skull and the wheel on the stick are common to the two ceremonies; the red and the black upright stick have no Arapaho equivalents. The Arapaho trench, red and black logs, seven red and seven black sticks, seven wickets, and two sods with bushes, have not been mentioned among the Gros Ventre.

The miraculous raising of the centre pole does not seem to exist among the Arapaho.

796 The Gros Ventre also introduce into the ceremony a thunder symbolism
171 that the Arapaho lack, or have in a much less developed form. The lightning symbol on the centre pole, from which water can be drawn, and the power of the thunder to strike with lightning any dancer who drinks other water than this, evidence this.

Another element special to the Gros Ventre is the introduction of ceremonies relating to war, such as the dramatic performances and the seeing of the approach of the enemy by the pledger.

Features introducing miraculous and sometimes purely personal supernatural powers are apparently quite lacking from the Arapaho ceremony. Among the Gros Ventre there are the raising of the centre pole, the production of water from the centre pole with the crow, the clairvoyance of the pledger as regards the enemy, and the visions of some of the dancers.

In summary, the exact duration and sequence of all events in the Gros Ventre ceremony are not yet clear; the preliminary prairie-chicken tent does not correspond very closely to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; and the connection of the ceremony with the thunder, the introduction of warlike elements, and that of miraculous or personal features, are peculiar, or nearly so, to the Gros Ventre as compared with the Arapaho.

MODERN CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

778 The recent ceremonial objects of the Gros Ventre are somewhat different
171 from those of the Arapaho. The Arapaho were deeply affected by the ghost-dance movement, more, it is said, than any other tribe; and many of their modern religious regalia have a distinct character of their own.
[668 The Gros Ventre received the ghost-dance from the Arapaho, but it seems
177] to have taken little hold of them. The only distinctive ghost-dance objects seen or obtained were two small hoops and a few balls, all of which resemble Arapaho types. The chief modern dance-ceremony of the Gros
177 Ventre, the only one performed at present, is the grass or war dance obtained from the Sioux, and evidently a modification of the widespread
778 Omaha dance upon which the Arapaho crow-dance is also based. This
796 dance has in recent years been still further modified, until its character now is very similar to that of the crow-dance. The regalia used in this
[178] dance at present are very individual, usually crude, and almost always stylistically degenerate. The delicate character and distinct style of the majority of modern Arapaho dance-objects are lacking.

171 The treatment of feathers in such objects is quite different among the
778 Gros Ventre and Arapaho. The Gros Ventre rarely ornament their feathers
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with dyed plumes or tufts of horsehair, as the Arapaho so frequently do ⁷⁷⁸ both at the base and top of the feather. Feathers with the vanes cut from ²³⁷ the quill, except at the very top, are also scarcely used by the Gros Ventre. ¹⁷¹ Instead, they usually cut the feather squarely off across its end, or split the quill, from the end down, for the greater part of its length. Sometimes the uppermost part of the quill is entirely removed, with its attached portions of the vanes, leaving the top of the feather forked. Plume-feathers are also much less used by the Gros Ventre than by the Arapaho. In dyeing, the Gros Ventre generally used cruder colors; a blue-violet; a pink-red, a light-^[38] bluish green, and yellow, all of them aniline colors, being the most common. The Arapaho use true red and green more frequently, and in most cases employ the dyes more lightly, thus obtaining enduring or delicate effects where the Gros Ventre are garish.

The Gros Ventre methods of feather-treatment, both the cutting-off and the splitting of the end of the feather, go back, at least in part, to their older tribal ceremonies. Both these processes are found employed on the dog-dance regalia described.

As regards other differences, the Gros Ventre probably employ more weasel-skin in ornaments than the Arapaho, though far less than their neighbors the Blackfeet. They use cloth (both cotton and woollen goods), red, green, or blue, without reluctance; whereas the Arapaho have clung very tenaciously to skin in all ceremonial objects. Skin thongs and sinew for binding are, however, very rarely replaced by strings and thread, even with the Gros Ventre.

The few objects obtained belonging to the ghost-dance movement are the following. ⁶⁶⁸ ⁷⁷⁸

Fig. 41 shows an imitation of a netted playing-wheel. The piece is about two inches in diameter. The stitch of the meshes seems to be correct, though there are fewer meshes than in the full-sized wheels. The "crow," the centre mesh, is painted red; the rest of the thong, yellow. To the centre mesh are attached four magpie-feathers cut off across. This object was ^[301] worn tied to the hair on the side of the head, or hanging from the little finger when the people joined hands to dance. Several very similar objects, lacking the feathers, are attached to the girl's painted dress shown in "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate LXXV).

A head-dress consisting of a hoop of about the same size, quill-wound ^[242] and bisected by two quill-wound strings, and of three long, blue-and-white quill-wound pendant thongs with plume-feathers at the ends, was collected by Dr. Clark Wissler. It is not known whether it belongs to the war-dance or the ghost-dance; its general similarity to certain Arapaho head-dresses

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makes the latter seem possible. It differs from Arapaho objects chiefly in that the color-ornamentation of the quill-wrapping divides the hoop into three instead of four parts. At the upper end of the hoop is attached a bunch of seven small strips of whitish rabbit-fur, resembling the weasel-skin style of ornamentation characteristic of the Blackfoot.

Two balls (Figs. 24 and 25) are identical in character with Arapaho ghost-dance objects, and the latter was made in connection with the movement. These balls are described above.

The following objects, many of which were obtained by Dr. Clark Wissler and which were probably not connected with the ghost-dance, are of a character that does not seem to make it worth while to represent them in illustrations; but they resemble Arapaho or other pieces sufficiently for a brief description. They all appear to have been used in the war or grass dance.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1742 is a feathered crook modelled on the familiar type of curved lance that is common on the Plains, and to which the otterskin-wrapped lances of the second degree of the second Arapaho tribal ceremony belong.¹ The Gros Ventre too had such crooked lances in probably two of their tribal ceremonies. The present piece is about four feet long, and made of a stick painted yellow. There is no blade, or representation of it, at the lower end. At the end of the crook hangs a single eagle-feather. The greater portion of the shaft is covered by a casing of green cloth from which hang, attached by thongs and sinew wrapping painted yellow, a row of eighteen eagle-feathers.

Fig. 41 (50-1922).
Wheel Head-dress.
Length, 21 cm.



A forked stick (specimen Museum No. 50-4328) resembles the Arapaho pieces of this kind described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 358). It is about six feet long, quite slender, and painted red. Some distance in the fork a quill-covered hoop is attached to the two spreading sticks. This hoop is red, with four white, blue-bordered areas on it. The ends of the fork are ornamented with a short green-cloth fringe, tufts of yellow-dyed hair, and feathers notched at the top. From the junction of the two arms downward,

¹ Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, Plate XXXII.

the stick is first covered with green cloth, then with skin covered with red and blue quill-work, and at the pointed end is bare, except for its red paint. 778 293

A feathered wheel a foot or a foot and a half across (specimen Museum No. 50-4292) is covered with red, blue, green, yellow, white, and black feathers and plumes, many of them dyed, and tied to the hoop without any attempt at color-pattern or other arrangement. Most of the feathers have the quill split. 171

Another hoop (specimen Museum No. 50-1745) is a little smaller, and is covered with brown buffalo-fur instead of feathers. At one point, five split owl-feathers and six black unsplit feathers are attached; at a place opposite, two small yellowed feathers, one with a green plume at the base.

Other specimens secured by Dr. Clark Wissler are a ceremonial spoon 771 with long, thin, decorated handle, and a quirt. The latter (specimen Museum No. 50-4305) is similar to Arapaho ceremonial quirts.¹ A heavy 415 778 wooden handle consists of two parts, — the handle proper and a longer portion with five deep notches in the lower edge. The upper edge is straight. The part of the handle that is notched is ornamented with brass tacks. From the end of the stick hang two ends of thong, the whip. At the handle is attached a skin of a fox or similar animal, ornamented with eagle-feathers.

A feather shield consists essentially of a circle of radiating feathers, 771 worn on the back. 293 778

A crow-belt, also secured by Dr. Clark Wissler, is quite similar to the Arapaho one described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 345). It is interesting that of the five Arapaho pieces in the Museum, this is at once the crudest in construction, and the most perverted by white influence from aboriginal style. In the present Gros Ventre belt, a rectangular piece of rawhide is bent over a stick as a support for the remainder of the specimen. The two hanging "tail" strips are of yellow cloth, quite narrow, hanging apart. Eagle-feathers, some dyed red, are attached to them. The belt proper is formed by two pieces of woven yarn. In the middle of the piece are attached the head and breast of an eagle. Below this, between the two hanging strips, is an ornament of a row of eagle-feathers pointing downward. These are attached in the folded edge of a squarish piece of rawhide, thus resembling the analogous piece in the Arapaho crow-belt referred to and the Arapaho *biitaha*² head-dresses. The ornament, however, is fastened to the remainder of the piece, so that it cannot have been worn as a head-dress. The two usual projecting arms consist each of a black eagle-wing feather, with a strip of quill-embroidery laid along the quill of the feather, and with several small bells, [237]

¹ Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. XIV, p. 987, Fig. 94), shows a very similar quirt attributed to the dog-dance.

171 whitish fur, and dyed horsehair tufts at the ends. At the base of each arm
 293 are red, yellow, and violet feathers. These are either cut off across the end,
 778 or have the uppermost part of the quill with its attached vanes removed.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH RELIGION.

171 Sacred pipes were important in the religion of the Gros Ventre. The
 276 beliefs and practices connected with these differ somewhat from those of
 778 the Arapaho. The Arapaho recognize only one sacred pipe, which is pre-
 eminent over all others. Its worship is entirely tribal, though it is in the
 keeping of an individual. It occupies much the place in tribal life that the
 sacred pole did among the Omaha. While there are other sacred objects,
 such as the wheels and bundles, none of them equal the pipe in the regard
 in which they are held. Among the Gros Ventre there is an analogue of the
 Arapaho pipe, but also several others. This multiplicity distinctly differen-
 tiates the character of the Gros Ventre pipes from that of the Arapaho. The
 Gros Ventre pipes are not all primarily connected with the origin of the
 world; they are in part obtained from other tribes. They thus resemble
 the inter-tribal peace-pipes of the eastern and northern Plains.

[888] The sacred pipes were kept by old men. Their keepers could retain
 them as long as they wanted. They transferred their pipe to another
 keeper or owner whenever they wished, especially if some one prayed on
 their behalf. At present the Gros Ventre have three pipes. It is said that
 formerly they had more, some of which have been buried with their last
 owners. The most sacred of these pipes is called "flat-pipe" (*çâëitsa*).
 This is described as being made of catlinite, with the bowl in the shape of
 a person (*initû*). The Arapaho sacred pipe is also called "flat-pipe," and
 also is not flat; but it differs from the Gros Ventre pipe in being cylindrical
 and tubular. About the centre of the stem of this Gros Ventre flat-pipe is
 tied a string. A person in the tent where the pipe is kept should not tell
 myths. If through forgetfulness he begins to do so, it is necessary for him
 to continue all night.

276 A sick man sometimes pledged to smoke one of the sacred pipes for his
 755 recovery. Then he provided food, and distinguished warriors were invited.
 778 Each of these had to recount four coups before the pipe could be lighted.
 A green cherry-branch was then taken, greased, and put into the fire to light
 the pipe with. If it burnt well, the man would recover; if it burnt poorly,
 they were afraid that he would not become well, or that something would
 happen. Then the pipe was smoked in the greatest silence. Cloth or
 calico was "given" to it, the wrapping last given being the one on the out-

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side of the bundle, it is said. Except at such ceremonies as this, only the keeper could touch the pipe.

Pipes were sometimes given to other tribes, and were sometimes received from them. Sometimes they were carried by war-parties. One of the three pipes still in existence is said to have been given by the Cheyenne to the Crow, and by the latter to the Gros Ventre, when peace was made between the two tribes. The stem is ornamented with feathers, weasel-skins, and at the end with a bunch of eagle-feathers. The sacred pipes were kept wrapped in many pieces of skin or cloth, and hung up in the tent. In good weather they were hung on a stand of three or four sticks, behind the tent. The keepers of the sacred pipes observed stringent rules. They could not eat of the head or back of any animal, nor of any part of the white-tailed deer, nor any eggs. They were not allowed to bathe, or to paint (except red), or to take the ashes out of the tent. They had to smoke in certain ways. They did not eat dogs, or allow them in the tent; nor did they let dogs touch them, or walk over their legs, or walk before them, while they were smoking. The keepers of the sacred pipes wore their hair uncut and uncombed. They could not cut it until they had given the pipe to another keeper. The hair was worn tied in a bunch just above the forehead. Fig. 42 shows such a bunch of matted hair, said to have been that of the grandfather of the father of the man who was the oldest in the tribe in 1901. This former keeper of the pipe became so old that he lost most of his hair, and the bunch shown was cut off by him before it should drop off. To this hair the later owner of the pipe, his present great-grandson, tied the first of his own teeth to fall out from old age: they are contained in a small cloth sack.



Fig. 42 (50 1902). Matted Hair.
Length, 41 cm.

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778 The sacred flat-pipe was also used in the sun-dance. It was once captured in war. Then the man who took it had bad dreams, until the pipe spoke to him in his dream and said, "Return me, or your tribe will be destroyed." Then this man brought back the pipe, and his tribe made peace with the Gros Ventre.

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782 The making of a sweat-house was not restricted to certain persons. A man wishing success in war would make a sweat-house for another person, in order that he might accomplish the deed he had in mind. Or, if a person was sick, one of his relatives might pledge to make a sweat-house for him, just as he would a dance. In this case the sick person himself would not necessarily use the sweat-house. On the other hand, a doctor might prescribe sweating for a patient, and in this case the sick person would enter the sweat-house.

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Fig. 43 (50-4385). Sweat-house Tail.
Length, 36 cm.

About twelve or fourteen willow poles were cut for the sweat-house. The entrance always faced the sunrise, and a small cottonwood-tree was erected in front of it. To this, calico or other property was tied by an old man as a gift to the sun. The cloth was partly blackened, the corners being rubbed with charcoal.

When all the participants were inside, the blankets were pulled down and the house closed tight. Water was poured on hot stones, at first five times. Thereupon the lodge was

opened at the entrance and at the opposite west end, and the people cooled. It was then closed again, and this time water was poured on the rocks seven times. After cooling once more, water was poured on the rocks nine times. The fourth time, the man that poured the water could put as much or as little on the stones as he wished. After the fourth time, the participants came out and bathed. If they were suffering from pain, they whipped that part of the body with buffalo or horse tails. This practice made the heat greatest at that point, much as if it were beaten into the body.

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Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*.

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A man who pledges and erects a sweat-house does not participate in the sweating. He makes the fire, heats the rocks and passes them into the house, raises and lowers the blankets, and performs other services.

In sweating, animal tails were sometimes used to beat the body with. Fig. 43 shows such an implement, made of the tail of a buffalo, on a stick handle cased in the skin of the tail. This object is similar to the Arapaho specimens described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 316), but is noticeable for the shortness of the hair on the tail.

When people were called to come to sweat, *hixteib'nix'a't* ("Above-Nix'a't") was first called to sweat with them. Then the people were called. This personage, whose name also means "Above-white-man," is said to have been prayed to before the whites were known; but the Gros Ventre, like the Arapaho, state that they do not know whether he is identical with the *Nix'a't* of their myths. Ordinary prayers were always addressed first to *hixteib'nix'a't* or to *iiyanānin* ("our father"), then the sun and moon would be mentioned, next the sacred pipes, and then the earth. After these had been mentioned, anything else could be prayed to.

A charm tied on horses to make them run fast consists of rabbit-feet painted red and tied together. The Arapaho used rabbits' feet for the same purpose.

Specimen Museum No. 50 1801 is a pair of wild-cat-tails worn by young men at the shoulder, or at the heel of a moccasin. They were also tied to children's belts, next to the skin, in order to keep them from wetting the bed.

Specimen Museum No. 50 1903 is a gorget (commonly called by the Indians in English "moon-shell") said to have been made in the old way from an intervertebral disk of a buffalo. At present these objects are usually slightly concave, and are made of china.

The Gros Ventre, according to Dr. Clark Wissler, call certain corrugated fossil stones "thunder-stones." The Assiniboine seem to use the same name. The Blackfeet, who perhaps have most developed the cult of these objects, call them "buffalo-stones." A specimen from the Northern Arapaho is shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" [These are probably *Ammonoite* septa. - *Analyst*]



Fig. 44 (50-4280).
Thunder-stone Necklace.
Length, 21 cm.

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[751]

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- 778 History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 443, Fig. 176). Fig. 44 shows a small Gros Ventre specimen attached to a thong, for wear around the neck. The entire stone is tightly incased in a piece of skin which preserves the form so closely as to be scarcely noticeable. At the lower end of the stone is a small fringe of skin. Skin and thong are painted over red.

BELIEFS ABOUT THE DEAD.

- 775 Dead people go to a barren region in the north. People have been there, but the ghosts are invisible. The dead are often heard whistling, speaking, and calling about human habitations; houses and tents may be closed, but still they are heard. They speak as a living person would, and people in return ask them questions. When at war, people often ask the ghosts what luck they will have, or where the enemy are. The dead always tell the truth, and, if they say one of the party will be injured, it always happens. The ghosts are never seen, but only heard. Sometimes, if a medicine-man asks one of his spirits to bring him a dead relative, the door is heard moving, and after a time the spirit returns with the dead person, who, when he is asked questions, answers. Every one who is present can hear him plainly. Sometimes, on the arrival of the person, a noise like the whirring of wings is heard. Then there is a tapping at the top of the tent-poles. Then the tapping moves about the tent. Now it may be at the door, now at the back of the tent. When a ghost or spirit is seen, as occasionally happens, it is only for a glimpse.

If a man keeps a tooth or a bone of a dead person, after a time the spirit of that person appears to him. Some ghosts lie, but some are truthful. A man who controls a ghost, or a medicine-man who has a spirit, can see it; but it is invisible to other people. It is summoned only in the dark. People who have lost horses bring a pipe to a man that has a spirit, and pay him. Then he calls his spirit, and it tells where the horses are. If people try to ascertain by the help of a medicine-man where they have lost a small valued object, the spirit may throw it at them. Stolen property is found in the same way. A ghost or spirit is called "untrue person."

- 159 An old man who has been several times quoted tells the following: "I
775 once died. I think that Above-Nix'aⁿ pitied me, and let me live to be an old man. I was very sick with cramps and fits. The camp was moving, and the last I remember was that the tents were being pitched. Then I knew nothing about it; but the people were mourning for me and had put paint and my best clothes on me. I was travelling. I went north until I came to the Cypress Hills. There on the hills I saw two bears going into

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Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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their holes, in which they had fires. I started to go around where they were, but when I came abreast of their holes one of the bears pursued me and caught me by the leg. I turned and seized it by the ear, and saw that it was a very small bear. Then I continued on my way, the bear clinging to my thigh, and I holding its ear. I went on until I came to a creek where there was an enormous camp, the largest I have ever seen, stretched as far as I could look up the creek. Those in advance were just setting up their tents. I went to the first tent I came to, which was a large one. A number of naked men were sitting there, each of them with some weapon. By the door a woman sat cooking. The men called out to her to catch me, that they would eat me. I ran out, and she after me. She caught me by the robe, but I loosened myself and ran back. Then my relatives, who were kissing me, noticed that I was breathing, and said, 'He is alive.' Then I recovered my speech, but I was still out of my senses. They told me later that I argued with my relatives, insisting that I had brought a bear, and asking them where it was. The next day, when my senses returned, the back of my thigh itched where the bear had been. Still later, when I had more nearly recovered, I saw the tent in which I was, full of people that I could not recognize. Then I lost my senses once more, and became so strong that they could not hold me. It was a long time before I entirely recovered. All this happened to me while I was still a young man, soon after I was married."

An old man tells that once he was going from one camp to another at night, when suddenly he heard a humming of a stone like a bullet, which struck in front of him. He was frightened, but did not run. Another stone flew over his head so close that he felt the wind it made. Then he ran.

On another occasion he was mourning for one of his sons. In the evening he went to one of his friends. It was already dark, and he had to pass through the brush. Then he heard a noise as of canvas being dragged over the brush, and there was loud whistling. He was not frightened, but stopped and said, "You should pity me. I am mourning." Then it shouted "Yes" loudly, and the noise stopped.

At another time he saw a ghost's light. An old man who had died had been buried in a tree. The narrator with six other men was driving horses past that they had captured, when they saw a flame on the dead body.

A man tells how he was once in an isolated tent, far from any camp. He was leaning against a tent-pole listening to those in the tent who were talking and smoking. Suddenly, close by his ear, there was a loud whistle which made him jump to his feet. The others all heard it also, and asked, "Who was that?" Going outside, they could find no one, and knew that it had been a spirit.

775 An old man relates that he once saw something that he thought was a spirit. In full daylight he was hunting horses, and came on a ridge where there were a few pines, while below there was a flat and a stream. Down there he saw a dead cottonwood aflame and a person by the tree who was burning it. Limbs fell down burned off. He thought that it was some one from his own camp who was burning the tree; but he lay down and watched. The person took a fallen limb, carried it to the stream and threw it in, and he could hear it splash and hiss. He saw this a second time and a third time, but, happening to turn his head, when he looked back there was no one there. He waited for some time, but the person did not reappear. Going to the stream, he saw the burned branches and the tree still afire.

[821] The Milky Way is called tsöökanibyaaⁿ ("ghost road"). The dead travel by it.

MYTHOLOGICAL BELIEFS.

776 Bax'aaⁿ is the name of the water-monsters inhabiting rivers, as well as of the thunder. The water-monster is also called byiicaⁿ. It is the enemy of the thunder. This idea is common in the Plains tribes, and it seems probable that the relation into which the thunder and the water-monster were brought through this general idea of the opposition between them, is what has resulted in one name being applied to both of them by this tribe. The description of the water-monster is the usual one. It is long, snake-like, and black, with a long head and turned-up nose and horns. It causes the death of all persons who drown.

That persons drowned are taken by a bax'aaⁿ is believed the more because the monsters are said to have hands like a person. As they have long, sharp teeth, and are known in one recent instance to have eaten a buffalo, it is supposed that they eat the persons whom they drown.

773 A hunting-party once saw a water-bax'aaⁿ being carried away through the air by a cloud which extended downward toward the earth. They saw 776 the monster writhing, and turning its tail.

A hunting-party once killed a buffalo at the edge of a river. They were cutting the meat when they saw waves approaching the buffalo. The water rose and was pushed toward the buffalo until it covered it. Then the water receded, and they saw a water-monster lying eating the buffalo. One of the men said he would kill it. The others urged him to desist; but he shot, and struck the animal between the eyes. Then, as it writhed, he declared he would despatch it with his knife. Again they tried to dissuade him; but he said, "I have come to seek death, and am not afraid." Taking his double-edged knife, he killed the monster, and dragged its tail out of the

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Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

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water. He was regarded as having done one of the bravest deeds imaginable. This animal had crooked horns, a body and tail like a snake, long teeth, short legs, and hands like a person. According to another version of this incident, the warrior approached the monster, which thereupon retreated into the water. Then he hid behind the buffalo, and when the monster reappeared, shot it, and then despatched it with his knife. 773 776

When one of the present old men of the tribe was a young man, a party, all of whom he knew, went to war. They came to a dry lake to the south of the present reservation, in the centre of which there was a small pool of water. Not having seen any buffalo on the way, they were very hungry. So when they found a bull standing by this pool, they killed him. Thereupon they saw that his legs were quite short and his hair long. One of the party said, "He is something strange. Let us not eat him." But another said, "We are too hungry. We will eat anything." And he stuck his knife into the bull's belly. Water immediately spurted out, and came in enormous quantities. The lake rose rapidly, and the men fled with the water at their heels. The lake-bed was a large one, and when they finally came to the bank enclosing it, and jumped up and crawled above, the water dashed against the bank.

The father of the same narrator was with a war-party when they came to a dry lake. They saw three stones in a row, and from the traces left on the ground saw that the stones were moving and that they were something wonderful. The whole party stripped naked and made sacrifices to them, and began to cry before them. Thereupon the water began to rise in the dry lake, and approach. All became afraid and ran off, except one man, who remained by the stones. When the stones were covered with water, they saw that the offerings that they had made moved toward the centre of the lake, although the water was flowing from the centre toward the edges. The one man who had remained continued to cry without fear, until the water reached his neck, when it stopped.

Some women once saw a *bax'au* in a spring from which they were getting water. For some time they were unable to move. When they finally succeeded in escaping, no one would any longer approach the spring. The women had seen only the monster's head.

An old man tells that once the camp moved, and at dusk came to the edge of a lake. The tents were not put up, but the people slept in the open air. It was winter and the lake was frozen. At night the narrator was awakened by a terrible roaring and crashing, as if the ice were breaking up. He did not need to wake any one else, for every one had been aroused by the noise. He told every one, "It is the water-monster. Be still." Early in the morning he went to look, and where the noise had been heard there

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was a clean cut through the ice, about two feet wide, the path of the monster. It had moved about in the lake until it reached the bank above which the people were sleeping. The monster had struck this bank, the impression of its head and two curved horns being visible. Then it had turned and gone back to the centre of the lake, and there disappeared, making another path, on each side of which the ice was piled up. The narrator gave to it several pieces of property.

[82]

It is said that it is not known whether thunders have ever been seen; but old men say that they have seen marks on the ground where one is thought to have alighted. The grass about was scorched, and two zigzag lightning-marks, each forking at the end, extended in opposite directions along the ground.

The people were once camped east of the present reservation. A terrific rainstorm came and passed over them. When they thought it had gone by, there was a fierce clap of thunder, and a man and his wife and their boy were struck by lightning. The man and boy were killed, but the woman is still alive. There were two small holes in the tent, and through the bedding into the ground there extended two small holes of the size of a small calibre bullet-hole. On another occasion, a woman was untying a curtain at the back of the tent in order to keep a bed dry, when lightning struck the tent-pole, and she was killed. The other people in the tent were merely stunned.

Not many years ago a strange thing happened to a man and a woman still living. During a thunderstorm the woman, who had been sitting at the door, went to the back of the tent and sat beside her husband. Lightning struck the tent, and shot a hole through every metal plate, cup, or dish on the ground. Where it entered the tent, it left a mark like a sword. The people then painted the tent dark-blue.

A woman out mourning for her mother on the prairie saw a small thunder-stone (*bux'aaⁿayāaⁿ*). It was creeping slowly, leaving a trail or mark. The woman thought she would leave it, and pick it up later. When she came to the place again in the evening, the stone had vanished. Its trail was still visible, but ended where she had seen it last.

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The rainbow is called *bux'aaniyaaⁿt* ("thunder's fishing-line"). *Nāyaaⁿt* seems to mean any fishing-implement.

The whirlwind is called *ināācitāⁿ*. This is also the name of a red legless water-worm (not a leech).

The three stars of Orion are called "buffalo-bulls." The two below them, to one side, are hunters who were going to shoot them and suddenly found themselves in the sky.

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The Gros Ventre once lived far north of where they are now, where there were nothing but forests. There they found a metallic object. The object

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Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.*

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was like the flat rocks on which women pound berries, perfectly round, rough above, and perfectly smooth on the under side. Many men lifting together could not move it; but when offerings were made to it, and it was asked to rise, one man was able to lift it easily. Several people tried to sleep near it in order to dream about it, but none of them ever staid the whole night through. They would dream that it was a large metal kettle coming toward them on legs, and filled with boiling water, whereupon they jumped up and fled.

West of the present Gros Ventre Reservation there was, until the whites took it away, a stone shaped like a person, except that it lacked the face. This was once a Snake Indian. A war-party saw him sitting on a hill, and pursued him into a flat. They had nearly caught him when he turned to stone and has been there ever since. Once, as a camp went by and the people made offerings of calico and other property, a man said, "Why do you do that?" Taking a club, he knocked off the head of the figure. The man died the same summer.

A complete buffalo of stone, with hump, horns, ribs, and other parts, half of it underground, has been seen by the Gros Ventre, and many offerings and prayers have been made to it.

To the north of the Gros Ventre Reservation is a lake shaped like a buffalo, with legs and all parts complete. The tail runs out into a river, the hoofs are patches of brush, and the horns are streaks of timber of the shape of horns.

Lizards are thought to bite persons and then to hang fast to the wound, sucking the flesh into themselves. It is said that a certain man was bitten and the lizard could not be pulled off. The man's flesh had to be cut off around the lizard's mouth.

There is believed to be a kind of bear with one white fore-leg, which is fiercer than the grizzly. The jack-rabbit is called "white rabbit;" and the cottontail, "left-hand rabbit." The prairie-dog is called "large gopher" (?); and the mink, "prairie-dog weasel." The bat's bite is thought to be exceedingly poisonous.

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I: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

ANTHROP. PAP. A. M. N. H.



MOCCASINS.

[End Plate I]

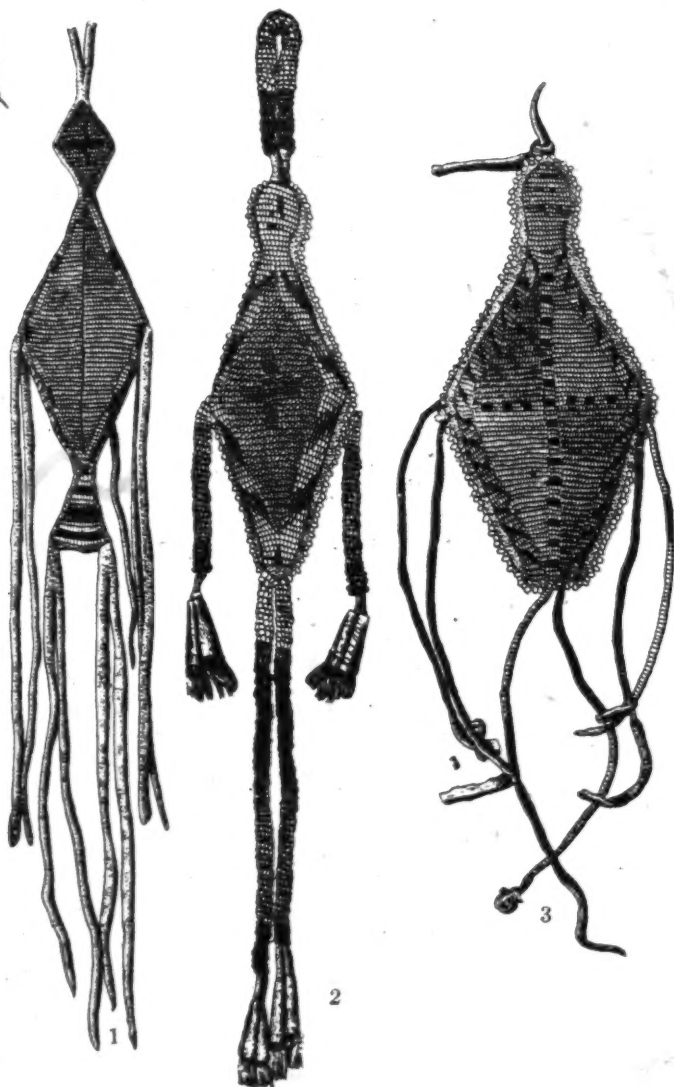
1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908

NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

ANTHROP. PAP. A. M. N. H.

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NAVEL-AMULETS.

[End plate 2]

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908 Blackfoot NFG

NQ13 Gros Ventre

Wind River NQ19

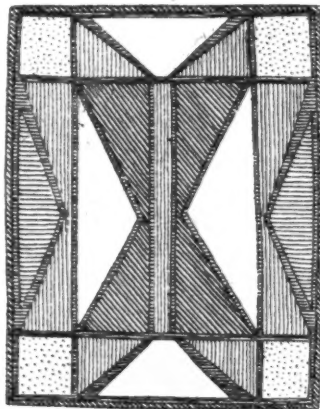
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Kutenai NF8

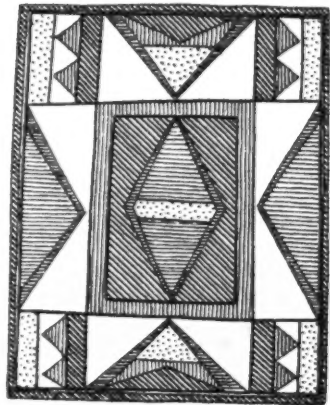
VOL. I, PLATE X.

ANTHROP. PAP. A. M. N. H.

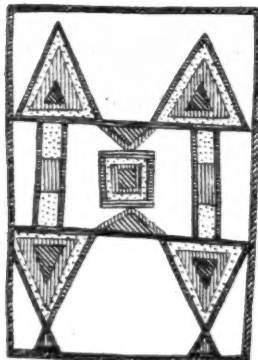
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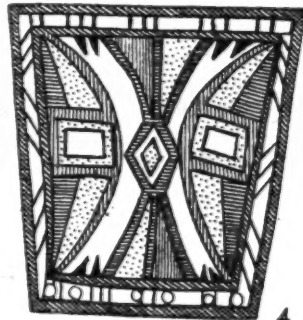
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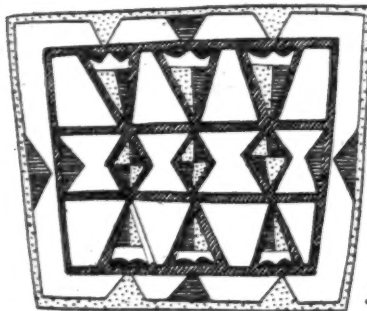
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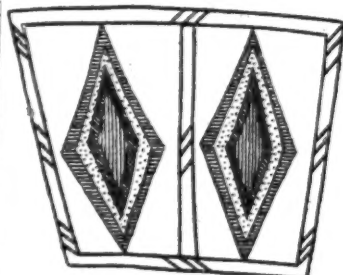
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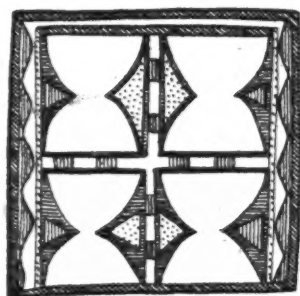


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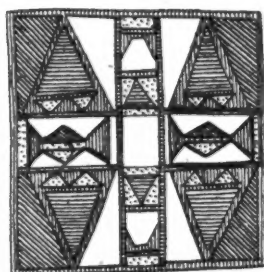
SHOSHONE, UTE, KOOTENAY, AND BLACKFOOT ORNAMENTATION OF PARFLECHES.

[End Plate 3]

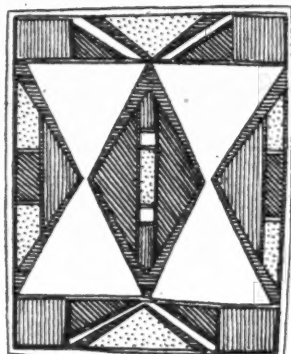
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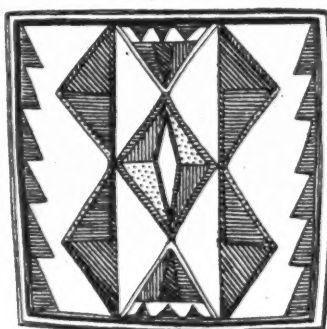
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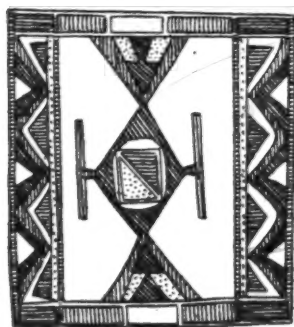
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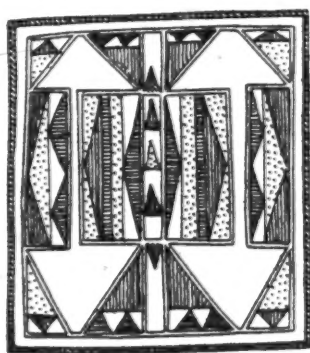
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ORNAMENTATION OF GROS VENTRE PARFLECHES.

[End Plate 4]

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ANTHROP. PAP. A. M. N. H.

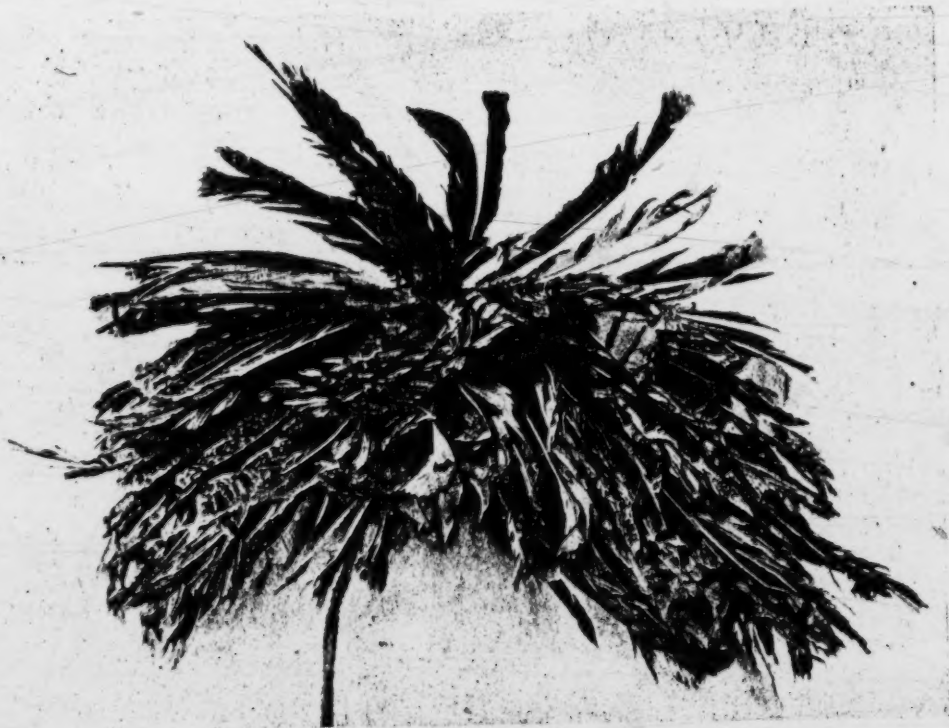


CRAZY-DANCE BOW AND PARAPHERNALIA.

[End Plate 5]

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I: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13



HEAD-DRESS FOR THE DOG-DANCE.

[End Plate 6]

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design type, including the Bannock and the Fort Hall Shoshone, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Ute, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. - Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Sahaptin, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Kiowa, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. - - Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Cheyenne, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Blackfoot, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including the Kutenai, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Sioux, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. - - Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Arapaho, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Assiniboine, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/

/For a distribution study of certain Plains Indian design types, including Wind River, see 1:Kroeber in the NQ13 Gros Ventre file, Category 116, pp. 151-179. --Analyst/